THE HISTORY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

Beginnings and Expansion

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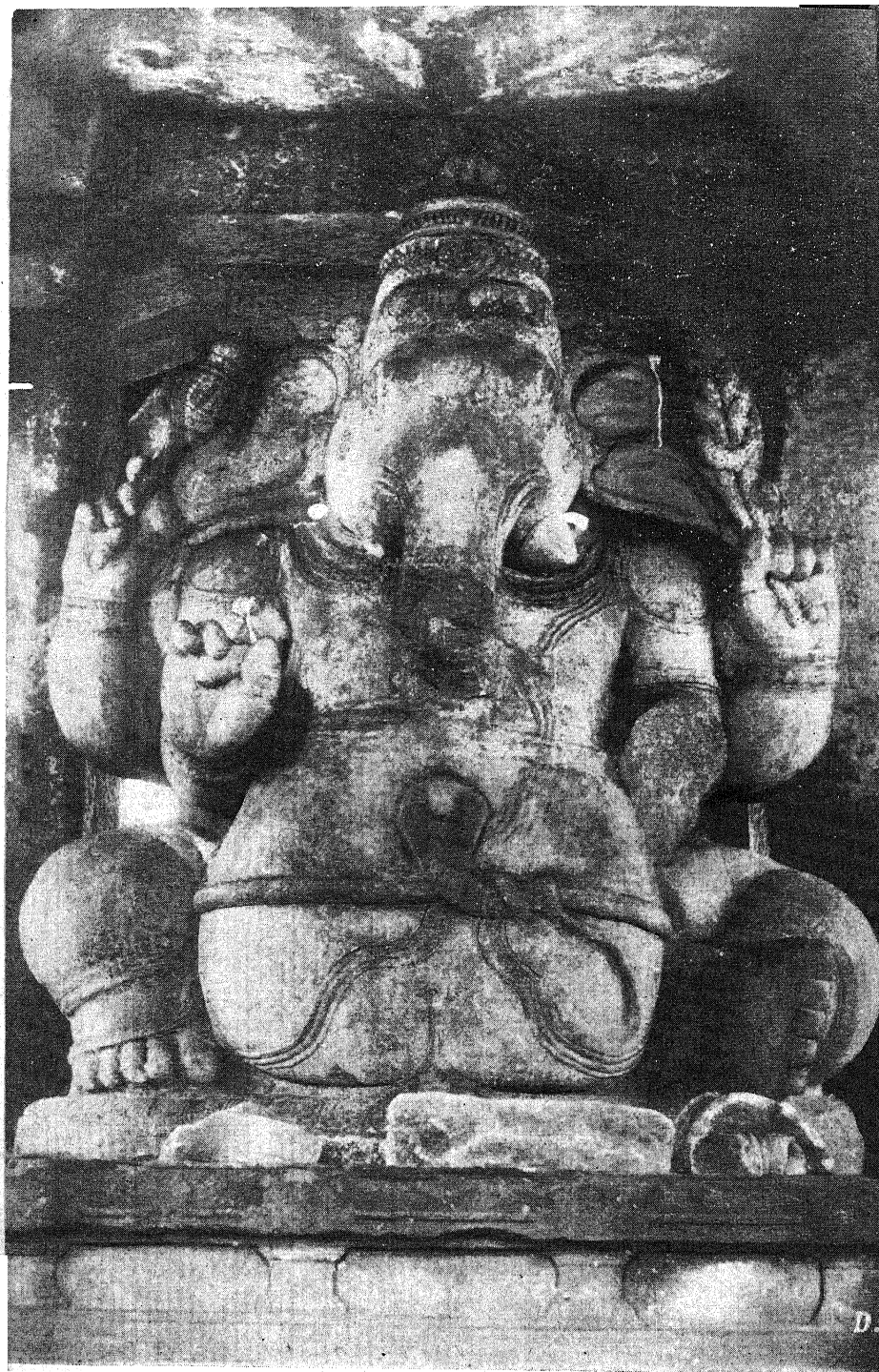
Statue of Sanikal Ganesh, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

Beginnings and Expansion

(1308-1569)

(Being the first volume of the Political History of the Vijayanagar Empire)

M. H. RĀMA SHARMA

Edited by

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BOMBAY

POPULAR PRAKASHAN

To the memory of

G. B. DẸSAI

Srimant of Kowjalgi and Kurubetta

PREFACE

The purpose of this preface is to explain how I, an economist, came to take up the editing of Mr. M. H. Rāma Sharma's *The History of the Vijayanagar Empire* and other works of his to follow and how far I have 'edited' his writings.

The late Rāma Sharma was my eldest brother, and although our relationship was very close, it is not this relationship that led me to undertake the task. For over 40 years and as long as I can remember, I admired his devotion to the work, and it is this facet of an enthusiastic scholar to his subject that primarily was responsible for my involvement. Rāma Sharma's switch-over to historical research and total dedication to Vijayanagar was something hard to believe. Over 65 years ago he started life as a student of medicine. While studying in Calcutta, he ardently participated in the Bengal Partition and Swadesi movements. Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and Bāl Gangādhar Tilak became his heroes. From then on, the medico veered steadily towards the country's history and her great past. In fact, dedication to these became his life's mission.

In the early Nineteen-twenties he wrote a history of South India and in Kannada too, both almost for the first time in this part of the country. This effort won for him a coveted literary prize. I was myself a close witness to his efforts and to the result. But what became of this work has been a mystery as all traces of it have disappeared.

This effort and its success led him to the Vijayanagar field in earnest. In such an effort by a person who had few resources, he was encouraged and helped financially by a generous Jahagirdar of Karnātaka, G. B. Desai of Kowjalgi and Kurubetta, in research assistance by B. Krishna Rao and K. Venkateshiah, in selfless devotion by his wife, and in inspiration by his brother, M. H. Krishna. Rāma Sharma spent all his limited funds and unlimited energy in pursuing whatever sources—inscriptional, literary, biographical, etc.— known to exist at that time, in discovering new sources and in personally visiting almost every important place associated with the Vijayanagar period. His small but

important pamphlet on Kumāra Rāmanātha is a tiny bit of evidence about the nature of his work.

In the course of his work, Rāma Sharma passed on, for criticism and suggestions, a section of the manuscript to a history faculty member of a well-known university. After sometime, he discovered to his chagrin that this member had utilised the manuscript to his own advantage, obtained a doctorate on it and secured also a promotion. Rāma Sharma's protests were of no avail because proof of his effort was difficult, and because, whatever his dedication and innate research ability, he could not compare academically with the other man.

This incident had a very important bearing on Sharma's future conduct regarding research. He became secretive and suspicious of everybody except his two assistants, myself and his other brother. He would not publish his findings even in professional journals. This attitude naturally deprived him of the benefits of scholarly discussion and criticism. But it in no way damped his dedication to work, though poverty and illness dogged him.

Before he died a few years ago in his mid-seventies—in fact three days before he expired—Rāma Sharma requested me not so much to look after his ageing wife or his very limited assets as to see that his work was published. Thus, my duty to a fellow-scholar to carry out his last wish and my admiration for his devotion to research led me to take over the editing of his writings, in spite of my own commitments.

In carrying out this task certain circumstances have helped me. To start with, I closely followed the efforts of Rāma Sharma himself over decades. Next, my own training in historical research under Father Heras of the *Āravidu Dynasty* fame at the Bombay University in 1924-26, and in 1927-30 under Prof. F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the Oxford University, Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum and the London School of Oriental and African Studies and under Prof. H. H. Dodwell, who occupied the Chair of British History in the Far East at the London University, my own writings in the historical field* and, more than all, my association with the

* *Mauryan Public Finance* (Allen & Unwin), *Finances of the Mysore State*, Vol. I (Orient Longmans) and *Tipu Sultan's Mysore—An Economic Study* (Popular Prakashan).

late Dr. M. H. Krishna, Professor of History and Director of Archaeology in the Mysore University from 1927 to 1947, all came in handy.

The editing of Rāma Sharma's manuscript has not been an easy task. I have had to face three important difficulties. Firstly, Sharma was by no means a very methodical person either in keeping his records or in minding the gaps and omissions in his own writings, for example, in the citations. This problem has been made more difficult by the scribes in the process of copying and recopying at least two sets of the manuscript, one supposedly the fairer copy. But in both of them there were substantial omissions in the supporting citations and discussions and to some extent even in the text itself. How much of this was caused by the author himself and how much by the copyists is hard to say, but the fact remains that there were substantial gaps. Further, Rāma Sharma's earlier experience with the pilfering of his manuscript, his command over the flamboyant language loved by his generation and his desire to write not so much 'scientific' history as one in line with Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has made the editor's position not easy. Finally, the author's dying instruction was that very little interference should be made in the manuscript as he wrote.

Under these limitations my editorial work has been confined to three things. Firstly, I have retained, as far as possible, the language, style and spirit of the original, correcting obvious faults, generally avoiding unnecessary repetitions and touching up language and presentation. Secondly, to give continuity and flow to the narrative, minor alterations have been effected. The *substance* of the research done—the facts and their interpretation—has been left largely untouched. Finally, I have tried to fill in the gaps and omissions in the citations and discussions. An addition to the bibliography of publications in 1955-77 has been made to indicate the later works, the blanks in the older bibliography have been filled as far as possible and the sources tapped to fill the gaps are indicated in section I of the bibliography. The editor also has supplemented the gaps in the alphabetical chronology of Vijayanagar celebrities as left by the author. This list is not exhaustive either regarding the celebrities themselves or the references to them.

All these have involved tremendous work. As one in the writing line myself, it would have been easier to write out on one's own than to edit another's. It is also my sad experience that in a University centre noted in its earlier years for historical research and located in a place where the Vijayanagar kingdom flourished, it was almost impossible to get research assistance for love or money.

There has been considerable delay in publishing this work. The manuscript reached my hands some years ago, but the nature of the work described above, my own preoccupations and the total absence of local encouragement held up publication. There appear to be some other related facets of Rāma Sharma's work and I hope they would be published in course of time.

I trust that in my editing efforts I have been somewhat successful, and it is my prayer that Rāma Sharma's spirit would not feel disappointed. In the course of my work, I have received continuous encouragement from my wife, sustained co-operation from my typist, M. Veerabhadrappa, and meaningful assistance from Miss N. Lalita, Miss Mythili and Mrs. Leela Subrahmanyam.

I thank the following individuals and institutions for various kinds of help in editing this book: The India Office Library, London; Dr B. S. Sāstry of the Post-Graduate Centre, Pānjim, Goa; Profēssor Donappa of the Andhra University, Waltair; S. Havanur, Librarian of the Bhabha Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay; Mr H. C. Shāntaveerayya of the Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore; Mr P. K. Patil, Librarian and Miss Nila Cariappa, Assistant Librarian of the Mysore University Library; Mr H. A. Khan, Reader in Library Science; Dr B. R. Gopal, Epigraphist and Mr Sanniah of the Institute of Kannada Studies—all of the University of Mysore, and Dr G. S. Gai, former Chief Epigraphist, Mr. Srinivasan, Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, and Mr. Sampath of the above office and Dr G. S. Dixit, Retired Professor of History, Karnatak University. While I am responsible for the contents of the battle plan and the maps, I am indebted to Mr. N. H. Itagi, Cartographer and Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages for helping me to prepare them and to the Archaeological Survey of India, Mid-Southern Circle, Bangalore,

for permission to use their copyright photographs of Hampi, etc. The maps are indicative and not definitive as the territorial boundaries, e.g. Raichoor Doab, were fluctuating.

Finally, the profuse citations in the 'Notes' at the end of each chapter are retained except, for odd corrections, as Rāma Sharma left them—overwhelming rather than selective.

The present work deals with the political history of the Empire in two parts. The first traces its beginning and expansion, and the second, its decline and disappearance. While the text is presented in easy flowing continuity, the scholarly discussions are found in the 'Notes' or citations. I am grateful to the Government of Karnataka for their generous grant for publishing this work. I thank Mr. P. M. Kuruvilla and the Wesley Press, Mysore, for doing its printing and Popular Prakāshan (P) Ltd. for undertaking the publication.

August 1978 M. H. Gopal

INTRODUCTION*

There is something of a romance antecedent to the present work. It begins with the year, say 1906, when my late respected father put into my hands a copy of Sewell's newly published *A Forgotten Empire*. I was in my middle 'teens then. Little did I imagine at that time that years after I would be called upon to continue the labours of this distinguished pioneer. After I had read and finished the work, when everything else was gradually forgotten, Paes' description of the Dasara procession at Vijayanagar and Nuniz's narration of the self-immolation of the Rāja of Ānegondi and of the battle of Raichur lingered long in my mind. I may add to this that the impression produced by the sword-mark on the cover of the earlier editions [of Sewell's book] very often stimulated all sorts of thoughts.

It must be in 1910 that I first visited the ruins of Hampi. Of course, when I went round from place to place and saw with my own eyes the vestiges of departed glory I was very deeply moved. I visited the place twice after. Even then, I never thought that I should sit down to write anything on Vijayanagar. However, the publication of *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. Aiyangar interested me so much that I thought it was necessary to add all the new information to what Sewell had written. Also thousands of new inscriptions had been discovered and published by the Archaeological Departments of Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad and Travancore. Thus, a closer study and evaluation of materials gradually led me to note down, classify and arrange events. My insatiable desire to know more and more of what might have happened led me to search for new sources in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. Though the task was very much disappointing, I was encouraged, now and then, by striking upon mines of wealth. To this class belong Ganga's and Nanjunda's versions about the exploits of King Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha. These [sources] promise to unsettle

* The Introduction has been reproduced as written by the deceased scholar (Editor).

the theory about the foundation of the Empire. The thousands of new epigraphs have served the purpose of changing the accepted dates of the reigns of kings. One such instance is that of Deva Rāya I.

Thus, my notes gradually took the form of a book. It may be that it presents some defects here and there. Wherever there has been a difference in dates or details it has been explained in footnotes, if short, and argued in appendices, if long.* A few others remain to be argued in articles. This is because there is no uniformity in the materials available at present. Even what has been done has taken fifteen years of my life.† Only those who have laboured in the field of original research know the magnitude of the task. If one might quote the words of a veteran scholar, Sir Jadunath Sircar, it is a 'gigantic' attempt. For myself, I thank God that I have lived to bring all scattered information to something of a readable narrative.

Unlike other histories of other empires, that of Vijayanagar is exceptional in many respects. I want to draw the attention of the reader in this connection to what another great scholar, the late Vincent Smith, has said, namely, that the history of India should really begin with the history of the south. This is because the cultural aspects of the indigenous civilisation survive more and better in the south than in the north. This, of course, is for historic reasons. To some, the history of Vijayanagar is of even religious significance. Like a colossus it rose for the defence of Hinduism. It sheltered the dispirited; it patronised and nourished the ancient culture when the rest of India had been laid prostrate. It fulfilled its mission for nearly 350 years and succumbed, like any other, to the natural effects of time and the encroaching defects of human character.

Even after its disappearance, it has left behind it invaluable treasures in literature, art, architecture, music and the social and domestic life of South Indian Hindus. Whatever unfriendly criticism might say, they have left an indelible imprint all their own. Whose heart does not swell with pride and whose emotions

* The appendices in full could not be traced. Some of them, however, are used in the Notes. (Ed.)

† This Introduction was written about 15 years before the author's revision of the manuscript and death. (Ed.)

do not surge in response when it is said that the South India of today, with all its defects, resembles ancient India better!

I am only sorry that I have not been able to do full justice to the great subject, for the reason that the sands of [my] life are running out. I leave it to those who come after me. The history of Vijayanagar is not and cannot be the work of one man. Dozens of workers have to labour and lose their way in this patriotic, nay holy, adventure. The talents of many universities have to be harnessed and the resources of States and Governments diverted in support of it. Will Mysore, the political successor of the great Empire, shoulder the responsibility?

Only one more duty remains,—that is, offering my whole-hearted thanks to all who have been helpful in many ways to bring this to a successful conclusion. I thank X,* my one and great patron, for his unstinted support which never slackened and his continuous encouragement. I thank the band of youngmen who have discharged their own particular forms of work, though of a mechanical character. Of these, I should make a special mention of K.V., B.K., T., S.N. and M.S.S.† I must also thank the Departments of Archaeology and Epigraphy of Madras and Mysore.

M. H. RĀMA SHARMA.

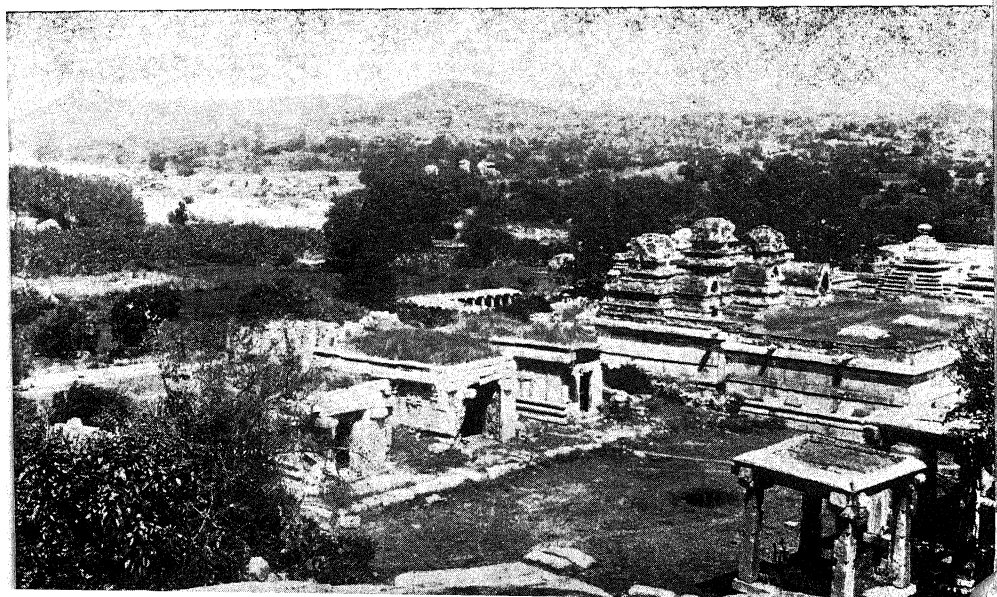
* Mr. X was a Jahagirdar of Northern Karnātaka who financed the author but preferred to remain anonymous. (Ed.)

† These were the author's research assistants and scribes. (Ed.)

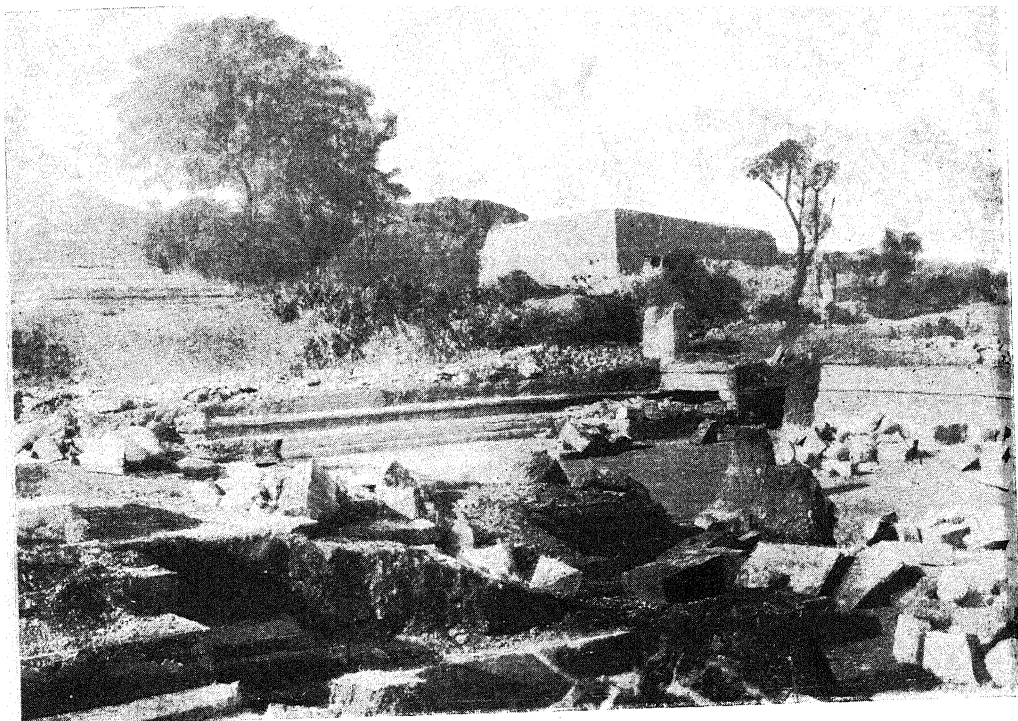
CONTENTS

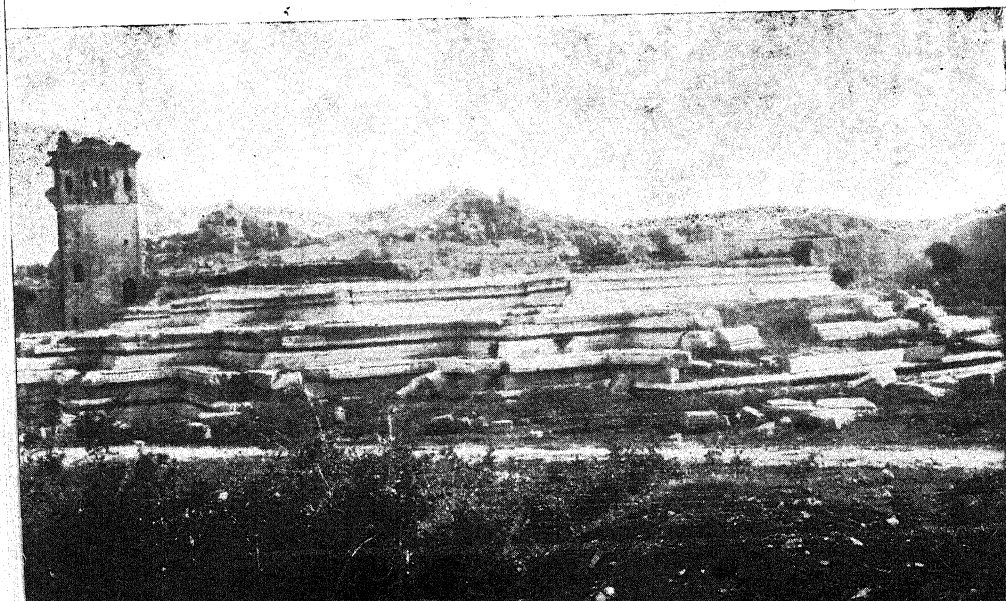
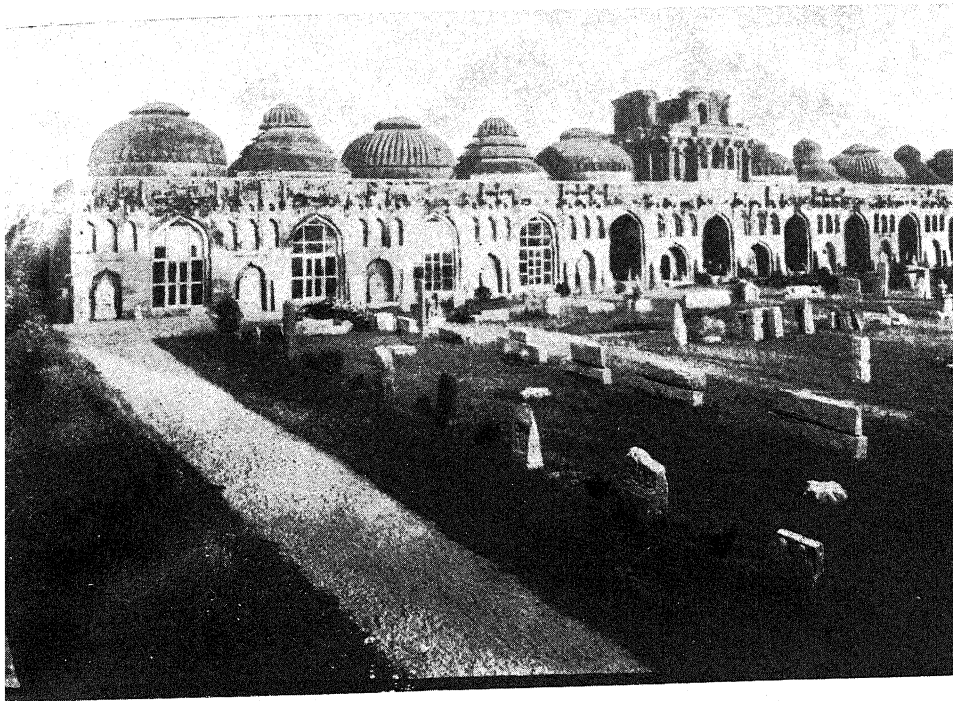
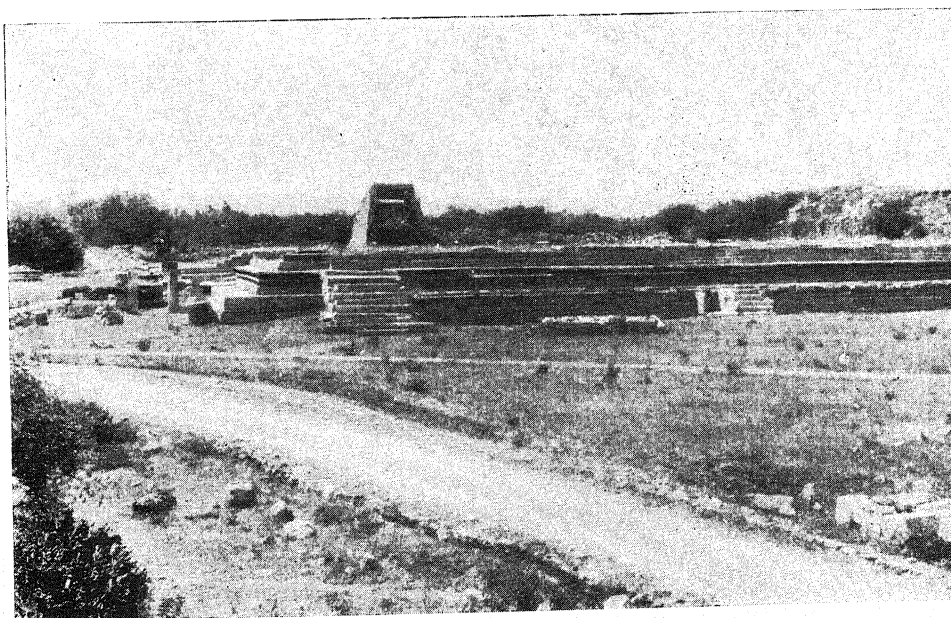
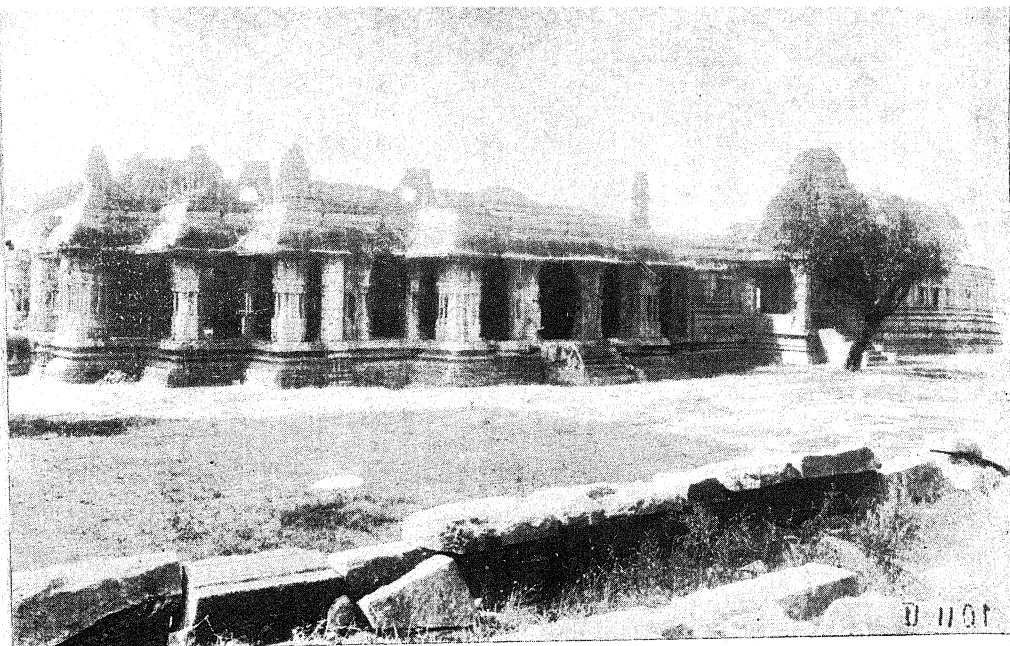
VOLUME I: Beginnings and Expansion (1308-1569)

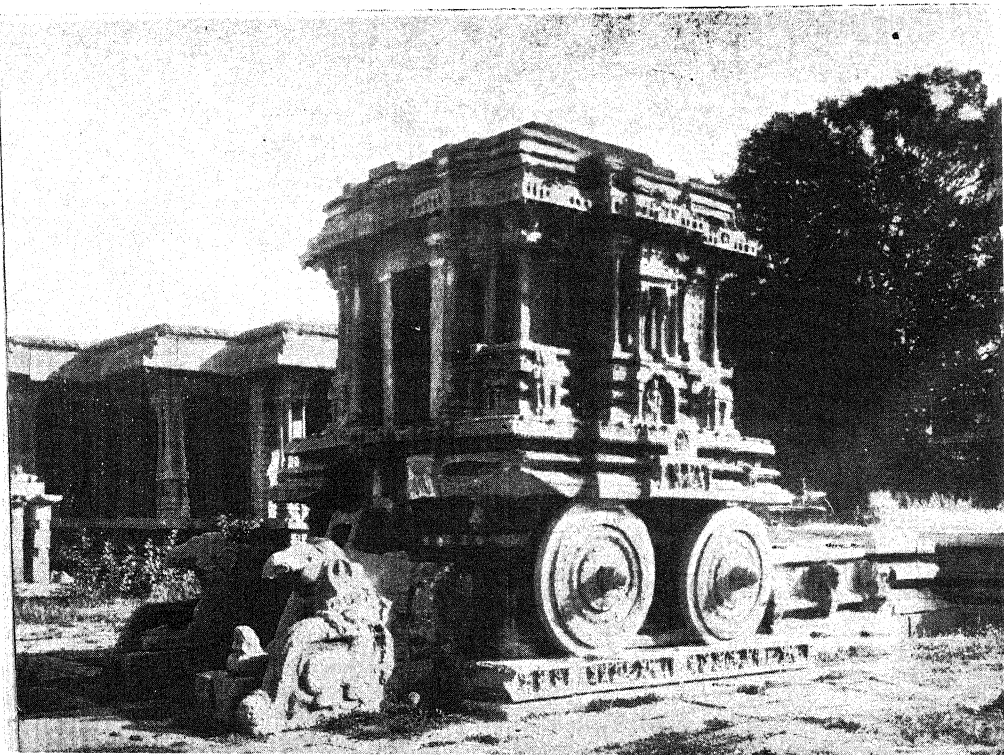
Matanga Parvatam and Soolai bazaar in front of Achyutaraya Temple, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

View from the Hemakutam showing the Tungabhadra River and the Jain Temple Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

Narasimha Statue, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

Boar Crest of the Vijayanagar King, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

Aerial view of Hampi Bazar, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

North-east view of the newly discovered moulded water pavilion at the palace, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

South-west view of the newly discovered throne, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

General view of the elephant stables, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

General view of the King's Audience Hall, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division

General view of Vittala Temple from south, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

South-east view of stone car, Vittala Temple, Hampi Ruins, Bellary Division.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The name—Karnātaka: The homeland of the Empire—The people—The Kurubas and the Bedas.

Of the glorious epochs of Hindu sovereignty that adorn the pages of Indian history, the period of Vijayanagar supremacy is none the least interesting nor much less important. If not in extent of territory, at least in its range of time and operations, it equals every Hindu power before it, whether the Maurya, the Gupta or the Āndhra, while in point of its contribution to Hindu culture and Hindu civilization, it excels all these with the exception perhaps of the Maurya.

The Name

The name Vijayanagar given to the Empire is a misnomer. All through its existence it was called 'Karnātaka Sāmrājya'[1], the Kingdom of Carnātic, Kauhara Charnātaca[2], and so on. Vijayanagar was only its capital. But it was really one of the many capitals, for, later on, Penukonda, Chandragiri, and Belur also were in their turn the seats of the Central Government. Karnāta is a Sanskrit form of the vernacular *Kar+Nād* or *Kari—Nādu* meaning 'The black country'.* This appellation originated from its central position, lying between the rivers Malaprabhā and Krishnā in the north, the *Ghāts* in the west, and the river Vedāvati in the east. This roughly included the present districts of Bellāry, Chitradurga, Dhārwar and Mudgal. The other districts had their own names[3] in the beginning, but in course of time, the name Karnāta came to be applied to all Kannada speaking tracts in general.

Karnātaka: The Homeland of the Empire

The extent of Karnātaka or 'the Kannada speaking country' extended, according to tradition[4], from the Kāveri to the

* A large portion of this area is black in soil. (Ed.)

Godāvari. Though as a result of various changes of fortune, this boundary, especially in the north, has been considerably pushed down south, Kannada or Karnāta language is, even to this day, the mother-tongue of the people from the Nilgiris to Sholāpur, the eastern limit being roughly marked by the railway line that connects Bangalore and Sholāpur. The land is generally flat in the north and undulating in the south. Five great rivers, the Bheemā, the Krishnā, the Tungabhadrā, the Vedāvati and the Kāveri, flow across it. More than forty[5] hill forts called '*durgas*' or 'the unassailable strong-holds' crown its hill-tops. Each one of these has, like the '*ghad*' of Mahārāshtra and of Rājasthān, its own story of heroism and daring to relate. Nor is the country poor in religious associations. Both Śaiva and Vaishnava places of pilgrimage abound. Of the former, Kalburgi, Kalyāṇa, Kudali, Harihar, Hampe, Kishkindha, Gokarna, Kumārakshetra, Nandi and Nanjangud and of the latter Tirupati, Udupi, Belur, Seebi and Melukote are the more important.

The People

The population of Karnātaka is twenty-one millions according to the latest census.* Even before the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire these people had a splendid record of human activities behind them. Great poets like Pampa, Ranna, Ponna, Janna, Durgasimha, Harishavira Harishwara,† and Rāghavānka had produced beautiful literature in prose and poetry. Various religious movements such as Jaina (*c.* A.D. 600-*c.* 800), the Smārtha (*c.* A.D. 800-*c.* 1000), the Śaiva (*c.* A.D. 1000-*c.* 1200) and the Veeraśaiva (*c.* A.D. 1200-*c.* 1300) had flourished among them. Prophets like Basaveṣwara and Mādhavāchārya had risen from their ranks. Architects like Dakkannāchārya and Jakkannāchārya‡ had covered their land with beautiful memorials in stone and mortar. They had built mighty Empires that stretched between the seas from the Narmadā to the Kāveri, led armies of many lakhs into various parts of India and performed deeds of valour, in no way inferior to their brother Hindus of other provinces. Of the more famous of them the Chālukyas of Bādāmi

* According to the 1971 census the population was 29.3 millions. (Ed.)

† This may be the poet Harihara. (Ed.)

‡ There is a view that there is no historical evidence for the existence of these architects. (Ed.)

(*c*. A.D. 566-*c*. 757), the Rāshtrakutas of Malkhad (*c*. A.D. 757-*c*. 973), the Chālukyas (*c*. A.D. 973-c. 1189) and the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa (*c*. A.D. 1145-*c*. 1183), and the Ballāḷas of Dwārasamudra (*c*. A.D. 1117-*c*. 1346) are some.

The Kurubas and the Bedas

Like Hindus everywhere, the Karnātakas also are divided into many castes and creeds. Leaving Brahmans, Banajigas[6] a few Chattris in Belgaum, and the Arasus[7] in Mysore, the bulk of the population is composed of Vokkaligas or cultivators, Kurubas or shepherds, and Bedas or hunters. Of these the Kurubas and the Bedas deserve special notice as they have always formed the backbone of the fighting classes of Karnātaka.

Kurubas are simple shepherds living upon the produce of their flocks and herds.[8] They are akin to the Dhangars of Mahārāṣhtra and the Ahirs of Northern India. They and their kinsmen, the Gollas or the cowherds, call themselves Yādavas, and not infrequently they have passed for such. According to the *Bījāpur District Gazetteer*, 'they certainly hold more village headships than any other caste, perhaps more than all other castes put together. . . They are small, dark and strongly built, remarkably sturdy and independent[9] and, as far as the bodily vigour goes, form the backbone of the people. The village wrestler is generally a shepherd . . . They are very honest and have a great name for sturdiness and obstinacy'. What is true of Bijāpur is mostly true of those living in other districts.

The Bedas, hereditary huntsmen by occupation, are a class of hardy, brave and fierce people, mostly living in former days in hills and forests. They resemble the Māvalas of Mahārāṣtra and the Bhils of Central India. They call themselves Nāiks or Chiefs and even to this day most of the village *talavāras*[10] or watchmen in Karnātaka are drawn from them. Writing about them, the *Bellāry District Gazetteer* says: 'Many of the Poligars[11], whom Munro found in virtual possession of the country when it was ceded to the Company, belonged to this caste, and the irregular levies and also a large proportion of Haider's formidable forces were of the same breed. They are, perhaps, the only people in this district who still retain any aptitude for manly sports'. This was truer still during and before the Vijayanagar period. While

the generals and officers came from the Kurubas, the common soldiers were mostly drawn from the Bedas. Although it would be incorrect to limit the words '*Odeyar*' and '*Nāyak*' to any particular caste[12] or creed[13], as they were professional and not communal titles, yet the former can be taken as representing the Kurubas and the latter the Bedas, especially during the first period of the Vijayanagar Dynasty.

NOTES

1. In 1973 the 'Mysore State' switched over to its ancient name Karnātaka. (Ed.)

2. Robert Kerr's *History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh, 1812), Vol. IV, p. 399.

3. Tumkur was called Nolambavādi: Bangalore and Kolār, Morasunād; Mysore and Hassan Changa-nād, Shimogā and Kadur, Nagarakhanda: South Kanara, Tulava; North Kanara, Haiva; and Dhārwār or Gangawādi and Belagam; Belvolnād; etc.

4. Nripatunga's *Karnātaka Kavirāja Mārga*, (Madras 1930), p. 8.

5. To mention only a few.

6. These and a few Nāgarthas are the only hereditary trading classes among true Karnātakas.

7. These are the only few that claim to be Kshatriyas.

8. Change of circumstances has made a good number of them take to agriculture in recent years.

9. Of late they too have begun to settle down in villages and take to agriculture.

10. Literally swordsmen.

11. Local chiefs.

12. Mādarasa Vodeyar, Governor of Chandragutti during Harihara II's reign, was a Brahman by caste.

13. Irugappa Vodeyar, about the same time, was a Jain. There was also a Dilawar Vodeyar, a Mohammadan in A.D. 1563.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSSALMAN INVASIONS OF THE PENINSULA

Extension of Mussalmān rule in North India—The peninsula in early fourteenth century—Deccan invasions of Mallik-Kafur: A.D. 1308 and 1309—Kafur's South Indian invasions A.D. 1311—Events between A.D. 1311 and 1323.

Extension of Mussalmān rule in North India

Regular Mussalmān rule in India, commenced from A.D. 1023, when Mahamud of Ghazni occupied Lahore and annexed the Punjab to his dominions. The Ghories, who followed him, captured Delhi in A.D. 1193. They were succeeded by the Slave Kings under whom Sindh, Bihar, Bengal, and Central India were conquered. Their power soon passed into the hands of the Khiljis. At the commencement of the 14th century, Allaudin, the second king of this house, was the sovereign of all Northern India. He was an exceptional monarch in many ways. He was by nature very daring, ambitious, unscrupulous, recklessly munificient, and fond of splendid shows and gaiety. He called himself 'The Second Alexander' and attempted to imitate him in his enterprises. For this, he wanted large sums of money. As all Northern India had been pillaged already, he thought he could satisfy his greed, only by the plunder of the Peninsula, about the wealth of whose kings and temples he had heard glowing accounts. To achieve this, his heart's desire, he fitted out many expeditions[1] to the south. But before we detail these, we should know something of the internal conditions of the region.

The Peninsula in Early Fourteenth Century

At the time of Allaudin's invasion, the peninsula was divided into three great empires. The first was the Senna empire of Mahārāshtra under Rāmachandra Deva, with its capital at Devagiri.[2] It covered the whole of Western India from the Narmadā to the Tungabhadra. The second was the Telugu empire of the Kāka-

tiyas under Pratāparudra II, with its capital at Wārangal.[3] This occupied the whole of the eastern block almost from the Mahānadi to the Pulicat lake. The third was the Karnātaka empire of the Ballālas under Vishnuvardhana Ballāla III[4] (Veera Ballāla III) with its capital at Dwārasamudra.[5] This extended from the Tungabhadrā to the southern reaches of the Kāveri. The fourth was the small principality of the Pāndyas, under Kulasekhara Pāndya, at the extreme end of the Tamil country, with its capital at Madurāi. Although these were big empires for all appearances, they were torn by jealousy, rivalry and disunion. The fight between the Sennas and the Hoysalas for the heritage of their former masters, the Chālukyas, had not yet subsided. Likewise, there were wars raging between the Sennas and Kākatiyas, and the Kākatiyas and Hoysalas. The Pāṇḍya country was torn by a fratricidal war between Sundara Pāndya and Veera Pāndya, the sons of Kulasekhara. Thus, in their attempts to displace each other or adjust their boundaries, these Hindu states had sacrificed their best manhood and sapped the very foundations of their existence.

The Deccan Invasion of Malik-Kāfur: A.D. 1308-1309

This was what was wanted by Allāudin Khilji. Once before, while yet a governor of Kara and Allāhābād, he had made a sudden raid on Devagiri in 1294[6], and after overpowering its king, had extracted from him a large amount of wealth and the promise of a yearly tribute of the revenues of the Elichpur province. This taste of plunder could scarcely satisfy a man of Allāudin's greed. Now, he found another excuse, that Rāma Deva, its king, had neglected to pay him 3 years' tribute. With this as an ostensible cause, but really to plunder and annex Deccan, he sent a big army in 1308 under his famous general, Malik-Kāfur, to bring the Hindu king to his senses. Rāma Deva again failed to justify his exalted position. He was humbled and taken to Delhi, and was allowed to return home, only after he had consented to become a vassal of Allāudin. But, as we shall see later on, this magnanimity of the Sultān was only a clever piece of diplomacy. The next year, 1309, Malik-Kāfur turned his arms against Pratāparudra. Having played the coward, Rāma Deva now acted the traitor. He supplied the Delhi army with all the necessaries to

overcome his rival. Pratāparudra fought the Delhi army better' but he too had to yield in the end. Vassalage was forced upon him. Then after extracting 'everything the Rai's country produced, from vegetables to mines and elephants', Malik-Kāfur left for Delhi in March A.D. 1310, with 'thousand camels groaning under the weight of treasure'.

Kāfur's South Indian Invasions: A.D. 1311

Not satisfied with the plunder of Devagiri and Wārāngal, Allāudin cast his eyes further south at the suggestion of Mālik-Kāfur. In this expedition, to his original object of plunder he combined 'the extirpation of the idolaters' by effective destruction of the prevalence of the 'Satanism of Hindus by the destruction of their temples, and providing instead places for the criers to prayers in mosques'.[7] With this object in view the Mussalmān army left Delhi in 1310 under Malik-Kāfur and arrived before Dwārasamudra early in the year 1311.

Seeing the destructive character of the invasion and learning of the strength of the enemy's army, Ballāḷa III sent agents to Kāfur's camp to propose peace. After extracting all his wealth, the Mussalmān general granted the Hindu king only a temporary truce asking him, however, to send his son to Delhi to settle matters with Allāudin personally. After remaining 12 days at Dwārasamudra, he proceeded to the Pāndya country 'that he might shake the shores of the sea as far as Lankā and spread the odour of the amber-scented faith'.[8]

As noticed already, the Pāndya country was then torn by fratricidal war. Sundara Pāndya, having been at last driven out of Madurai by his brother, had sought refuge with Allāudin Khilji, and there is little doubt that he instigated this invasion in revenge. On hearing that the Mussalmān army was marching upon him Vira Pāndya, Sundara Pāndya's rival, is said to have fled from place to place into the jungles. Avoiding the chase, Kāfur started sacking the temples and massacreing the people. Chidambaram[9] was 'plundered, its Lingas destroyed and its temple was dug up from its foundations with the greatest care'. The blood of Brahmans and the idolators flowed in torrents. This was in April 1311. Sreerangam was next visited, the guards of the temple there were overpowered, and its property, together

with the idol of Sreeranganātha, was looted and carried away. Thereafter Kāfur's army proceeded to Madurai. Here the temple of Chokkanātha[10] was burnt. Thence Fatan[11] was reached, where the idol was destroyed and a thousand elephants and innumerable horses and many jewels were taken. After this, Kāfur returned to Delhi, leaving behind him a Mussalmān garrison at Madurai.[12]

Events between A.D. 1311-1323

Kāfur had returned to Delhi, after having brought the whole of the peninsula under the rule of the Khiljis. But conquest is different from consolidation. Allāudin could scarcely expect to keep under control such a huge continent like India, with the aid of his few garrisons, scattered here and there. Learning of his troubles at home, namely, the revolt of his Mughul mercenaries, Chittoor and Gujarat rose in rebellion. Their example was followed in 1314 by the newly conquered kings of Devagiri, Wārangal, Karnātaka and Malabār. Worried by this depressing news, Allāudin Khilji breathed his last in 1316.

His son, Mubārak, after his accession tried his best to bring back the rebel territories under subjection by leading an army in person to Devagiri and deputing another to Wārangal and Malabār under his favourite, Khusru Khān. Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva, was beaten and flayed alive in 1318. Khusru compelled Pratāparudra to cede five districts and pay an annual tribute. Malabār was also quietened. But all to no purpose. The death of Mubārak in 1321, followed by Khusru's usurpation, and Ghāziudin Tughluk's advance on Delhi again offered opportunities to Wārangal and Karnātaka to throw off the Delhi yoke. After the final triumph of Ghāziudin, his son, Prince Juna Khān (later Mahamud-bin-Tughluk), led two expeditions[13] against Pratāparudra in 1323, took Bidar and after reducing Wārangal, brought him prisoner to Delhi[14], thus extinguishing Kākatiya independence once for all[15]. Karnātaka, on the other hand, still remained unsubdued.

But before we take up the story of its struggles with Delhi, it is necessary to know the intervening incidents.

NOTES

1. There are stray pieces of evidence in South Indian literature indicating a few earlier raids by Mussalmāns but of these very little is known at present.

2. The modern Doulatābād.

3. Kākatiya Pratāparudra II.

4. Channapatna 98, and Koppa 11 for the proper name of this king. *E. C.* Vol. 9, page 326 at Malur (Malur Hobli) (1905) Hoysāla Sri Vishnuvardhana Sri Vira Ballāla Devaru and *E. C.* Vol. 6, p. 167 at Balehonnur (1901).

5. *E. C.* Vol. 6, Chikmagalur 36, p. 102, at Indavara.

6. According to *Rāmanātha Ms*, there seems to have been a still earlier invasion of Devagiri about 1280. See also *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1929, p. 96.

7. S. K. Aiyangar's *South India and her Mohamedan Invaders*, p. 91.

8. Amir Khusru's *Ashika*, p. 550.

9. Identified as Brahmāstrupuri by S. K. Aiyangar, (*South India and Her Mohamedan Invaders*, London, Oxford University Press 1921, p. 108), but as Chidambaram is not separately mentioned, and as Ling Mahade and Deo Nārāyana are referred to as one locality, it is probable that the temple of Jambukeswara closeby is intended.

10. *Ibid*, p. 11.

11. One of the *pattanams* near Rāmeswaram according to S. K. Aiyangar *Op. Cit.* p. 101.

12. The poet Nanjunda refers to a general of the sultan of Delhi, by name Nemi, having captured the chief of Madurai and left a garrison at that place. H. Deveerappa, (Ed.) *Rāmanātha Charita* of Nanjunda, Mysore University, 1959, Chapter V, Part 1, Verse 28, p. 313.

13. In the first he was defeated and pursued with great slaughter to Doulatābad.

14. S. K. Aiyangar: *Op. Cit.* pp. 66, 68, 203 where Aiyangar extends Rudra's date.

15. K. A. Nilakantha Sastry: *A History of South India from Pre-Historic Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, p. 223. First edition 1955.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE

The kingdom of Karnātaka—The misrule of Mahamud-bin-Tughluk—Bahaudin rebels, 1327—Kumāra Rāmanātha—Johur at Kumata—The conquest of South India 1327-29—The release of Hakka and Bukka.

The Kingdom of Karnāta (1303[1]-1333):

In about 1300, Mummadi Singeya Nāyaka, a chief of Karnāta, repaired to the court of Rāma Deva, the king of Devagiri, and was entertained by him in his service. Some time after, the Sultan of Delhi marched against Rāma Deva and after defeating him laid waste his country. Singeya Nāyaka returned to his native province and there sought service under Mallarāja.[2] After the death of his patron without issue, Singeya Nāyaka succeeded him. His son, Kampila, followed him on the throne. The disturbances at Delhi after Allāudin's death and the consequent anarchy in the south, gave him a good opportunity to extend his territory on all sides.[3] His son, Kumāra Rāmanātha,[4] led an army against the Rāja of Gutti and after defeating him, brought him prisoner to his father. He was released by Kampila[5] only after his consenting to become his tributary. After his triumph over Gutti, Kumāra Rāmanātha subdued the Rāja of Mudgal and the Reddi Chiefs of Kondapalli. While his son was winning victories in the north and the east, Kampila's other generals were trying to extend his power to the west and to the south. This quarter had gone into anarchy after 1318, when Mubarak Khilji extinguished all traces of Devagiri sovereignty by the cruel murder of Harapāla, its last representative. As a one time subordinate of Devagiri kings,[6] Kampila claimed his right over this tract. Ballāla III too

* Some of the events in this chapter are based on literary sources, but there is a lot of contradiction among the contemporary Muslim writers themselves. Cf. P. B. Desai and others: *A History of Karnātaka*, pp. 304-16. Also P. B. Desai in *J. of the Kar. University* (S.S. Part), VI, 1970, pp. 175-190. (Ed.)

advanced his own claims and sent his generals to recover these lands which belonged to his empire before the southern expansion of the Sennas of Devagiri. In fact, Devappa Danāyaka, a Ballāla general, was actually in possession of Hosagunda in 1320.[7] Another, the Mahāpradhāna, Toya Singeya Danāyaka, was fighting with a Gāngeya Sahāni at Uddavi.[8] In this rivalry the generals of these two kings naturally came into conflict with each other* and many were the battles that were fought between them near Nagar in 1320[9], near Siraguppa in about 1321[10], and near Tiptur in 1325.[11] These struggles were equally balanced without any party gaining any decisive advantage.

It was while matters stood thus in Karnātaka, that Juna Khan was carrying on the last Delhi war against Pratāparudra of Wārangal. After the final overthrow of that monarch and the annexation of his dominions in 1323, two persons, Hakka and Bukka, who were the guardians of his treasury, escaped southwards and sought service under Kampila's son, Rāmanātha. Soon after this, in 1325, Gaziudin died and Juna Khan ascended his father's throne under the name of Mahamud-bin-Tughluk. This event at Delhi, by introducing a new state of political conditions in India, called to an almost sudden halt the struggle between Kampila and Ballāla for supremacy in the south.

The Misrule of Mahamud-bin-Tughluk

Mahamud was in character very different from his father. He was the most gifted and accomplished of the kings of his day, but he was also the most cruel and self-willed, dreaming of the wildest of schemes, namely, the conquest of the world. With this object, he raised a huge army for the conquest of Persia. But nothing came out of it as the army after having consumed all his treasures dispersed for want of pay, carrying pillage and ruin to every quarter. Next, he fitted out an expedition of 100,000 men to conquer China, which also failed disastrously. Reduced to bankruptcy by these calamities, he attempted to stabilize his currency by introducing copper money. This brought trade to a standstill and only added to the prevailing discontent. Unable to bear his exactions, traders deserted the cities and villagers and fled to the jungles. Rebellions soon followed as a natural consequence.

* Compare P. B. Desai's views in *The Hoysalas* edited by B. Sheik Ali (1972), pp. 329-344. (Ed)

Bahaudin rebels 1327[12]

The first to revolt was the king's own first cousin, Bahaudin Gurshasp, who refused to swear fealty to him in 1327. He was then the governor of Sāgar[13] in the Deccan. Being rich and popular, and having gained over many local chiefs, he even aimed at the throne of Delhi.[14] Perhaps with this object in view, he attacked some chiefs that were loyal to the king, and they were obliged to flee and take refuge in the fort of Mando. This news reaching Mahamud, he ordered the whole of his Gujarat forces to proceed and chastise the rebel. Undaunted, Bahaudin also gathered a formidable army and drew up near Devagiri, waiting for a decisive struggle. Shortly after, the armies met and a severe contest soon followed. But though Bahaudin fought very gallantly, he lost the battle in the end, owing to the desertion of Khizr Bahrani, one of his principal officers. Then afraid of the consequences, he fled to Sāgar, his headquarters. Finding that place also insecure, he shifted his family and wealth to Kampila, the Rājā of Karnātaka, and sought his protection.

But before we proceed with further events, it is necessary to know something of the grave developments that were happening at Ānegondi (Hosamale Durga) during the intervening period.

Kumāra Rāmanātha

Of the provinces that had thrown off the supremacy of Delhi after Allāudin Khilji's death, Karnātaka alone remained unsubdued. The shelter given to Bahaudin by its king offered Mahamud Tughluk a fine excuse to declare war on it. Meanwhile, grave events were happening at Ānegondi. At the instigation of his youngest wife, Kampilā had, sometime before 1327, ordered Rāmanātha to be put to death. But his general, Baichappa, had wisely concealed him. Hearing that the brave prince had been put to death, the Delhi army made a dash towards his capital. Rāmanātha was now released and placed in command of his father's forces. True to expectations, he twice defeated the Delhi army under Khwaja Jahan.[15] But Mahamud Tughluk was the last person to be baffled. For the third time he sent the same general with fresh reinforcements[16] from Devagiri. Kampila knew that he was powerless to continue the struggle. So providing his

guest Bahaudin with an escort, he sent him for safety to Veeraballāla while he himself retired to Hosamaledurga[17] leaving his son Rāmanātha in charge of the defence of Ānegondi.

Johar at Kumata[18] 1327:

At the time of its destruction, the kingdom of Karnāta was of no mean dimensions. The districts of Mudgal, Bellāry, Chitradurg and Dhārwār, and perhaps the adjoining parts of Bijāpur, Raichoor, Anantapur and Shimogā also belonged to it. It had over 50,000 soldiers in its service. But with all this, Rāmanātha knew that he had few chances against the huge invading army.[19] Moreover, his stores of grain were exhausted. He, therefore, selected 5,000 of his best soldiers and took refuge in the fortress of Kumata[20] which had recently been built. The Delhi army soon arrived on the scene and laid siege to the fortress in all earnestness. When Rāmanātha found further defence useless 'he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lighted'. Then, he burnt his furniture and said to his wives and daughters, 'I am going to die, and such of you as prefer it, do the same'. Then it was seen that each one of these women bathed herself, rubbed her body with sandalwood, kissed the ground before the *Rai* of Kampila and threw herself upon the pyre and perished. The wives of his nobles, ministers and chief men followed them and other women also did the same.

The Rai in his turn bathed and rubbed himself with sandalwood and took up his arms but without the breast-plate. Those of the men who resolved to die with him followed his example. They sallied forth to meet the troops of the Sultān and fought till every one of them fell dead. The fort was taken, its inhabitants were made prisoners and carried to the Sultān, who made them all Mussalmāns.[21] Such was the glorious end of Kumāra Rāmanātha. There are reasons[22] to conclude that Hakka and Bukka were also among the captives.

The Conquest of South India: 1327-29:*

After the tragedy at Kumata, the Sultān stayed, according to Nuniz, for two years in the fortress because he had still work on hand. Kampila[23] with his eleven sons was captured shortly after,

* *Supra* note in the beginning of the chapter. (Ed.)

the latter being all made Mussalmāns. Then the Delhi army again continued its pursuit of Bahaudin, this time to the court of Ballāla, whose capital, Dwārasamudra, was razed to the ground. He was further forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Delhi and surrender the fugitive that had sought his shelter. Khwaja Jahan immediately despatched the captive to the presence of the Sultan, who ordered Bahaudin to be flayed alive and his flesh to be cooked and served to his own wife and children.

The invading army continued its career of conquest into Malabār. Sreerangam was sacked, its temple desecrated, and the bulk of its citizens massacred.[24] The famous Vedānta Desika was one of the very few narrowly to escape this general carnage and to flee to Satyagāla Mangalam.[25] As a result of these calamities, Ballāla lost a good deal of his Mysore territories and was compelled to retire to Tiruvannāmalai in the present North Arcot district. To Mahamud Tughluk, however, this campaign was one of complete triumph as it brought back the whole of Southern India under Delhi.

The Release of Hakka and Bukka

Mahamud was now 500 leagues away from his capital, his forces were all scattered and news reached him that all the land he had first gained had rebelled against him. Of these, the Punjab under its governor, Kishlu Khan, revolted first, in about 1333.[26] Finding that his presence was urgently required in Northern India, the Sultān collected his army and leaving his fortress, which was the strongest in the Kingdom, with abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances and appointing as its governor one Malik Naby with a sufficient number of troops, left Ānegondi for good.

The news of the Sultan's return to Delhi spread rapidly and people who had escaped to the mountains with others, and those who against their will had taken oaths of fealty, rose against Malik Naby and beseiged him in the fortress, cutting off his communications and provisions. Ballala also was not slow to take advantage of this situation to recover his lost territory. His generals one after another spread out and seized whatever place they could lay hands on. We thus find Gangi Deva Danāyak in possession of

Penukonda in 1333,[27] and Mahāpradhāna Karneya Danāyak fighting at Kuppe[28] as far north as Sorab in 1334, while the king himself was said to be ruling at Dwārasamudra in 1334[29] and 1335.[30] More than all, Mahamud's own army, which he had sent to Malabār, rebelled and Jelāludin Hashan Shāh declared himself independent at Madurai.

The Delhi officer at Ānegondi realised his desperate situation and the difficulties in the way of getting early succour from his master. So he sent a special messenger to Delhi appraising of these facts. When Mahamud Tughluk heard this, he consulted his wise men who advised the Sultān to release the six captives with him, and, after investing them with powers, to send them back to their country to rule it in his name. When the Sultan enquired who the nearest of kin to the dead king Rāmanātha was, no one was found to whom by right the kingdom belonged. But one of them was minister and the other treasurer at the time of the destruction of Ānegondi. These two were Hakka and Bukka. Accordingly, the brothers were set at liberty, Hakka being made the king and Bukka the governor. After taking pledges of fealty from them, they were sent back to Ānegondi to hold it as his vassals[31] in 1336.[32] These were the origins of the future Vijayanagar Empire.

NOTES

1. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912-13, p. 40, para 5 for the earliest reference to Kampila, son of this Singeya Nāyaka.

2. On p. 362 of *Andhrula Charitra*, Part II, there is a passing mention of a Mallarāja of Gandikota (?), for whom we have a date 1313. There is also one Rācha Malla of Penukonda.

3. This period after Allāudin's death in 1318 (?) is suggestive. It must be at this time that each of the southern kings and chiefs began to pounce one upon the other instead of forming a league against the Mussalmāns of Delhi. Baichappa must have led his southern expedition about this time; and Sundar Pāndya (?) also his glorious expeditions. The latter is said to have ventured as far as Dwārasamudra and attacked the Hoysalas in their own kingdom. Could his Nellore coronation have been about the same time? Likewise, Ballalā III also became active.

4. *Channabasava Purāna*, 5th *kānḍa*, 9th *sandhi*, verse 77.

5. Kampila's capital appears to have been Hosamalai (*Channabasava Purāna*, *Op. Cit. kānda* 5, *sandhi* 9, verse 77) or Hosakota (*Kumāra Rāma Charitra*, *sandhi* 4) which must be sought out in Raichoor Doab, but according to Vidyāranya's *Kālagnāna* in *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* it was Silapuri or in

Kannada, Kalloor. If this identification is correct, it may be any one of Kalloors in the Raichoor Doab, preferably that about 10 miles to the south-west of Raichoor. [There are other identifications also.]. (Ed.)

6. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912-13, p. 40, para 85.

7. Sāgar 135, *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904), p. 225 at Hosagunda.

8 Somewhere towards the north-west border of the old Mysore State.

9. Nagar 19, *E. C.* Vol. CIII, p. 243 at Hosakote.

10. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912-13, p. 4, para 6.

11. Tiptur 24, *E. C.* Vol. XII, p. 74 at Kadasur (Māyisandra Hobli)

12. *J.R.A.S.* for 1922, pp. 336-365.

13. This is about 120 miles south-west of Hyderabad.

14. Ferista's *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India:* John Briggs (ed.); Vol. I, pp. 418-19.

15. *Kumāra Rāmana Charitre, sandhi* 17, verse 20. Ferista also says (*Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 419) that Khawaja Jahan was twice beaten.

16. According to *Channabasava Purāna*, V *kānda*, 9th *sandhi* and verse 78 it numbered 1,96,000 cavalry.

17. This is without doubt the present Rāmana Durga close to Sondur in Bellāry district.

18. The Crynmata of Nuniz (Robert Sewell: a *Forgotten Empire*, p. 293). The Kannada work *Channabasava Purāna, kānda* 5, *sandhi* 9, verse 78, gives a little information on this. The Telugu version of the same work should be compared with this. The MSS. *Kumāra Rāmana Charitra, Kumāra Rāmana Sāngatya* and *Kāmāti Rāmana Katha* give detailed information. [The second of these is edited by G. V. Rao. (Ed.)].

19. According to *Channabasava Purāna, sandhi* 62, verse 77-78.

20. *Mysore Archaeological Report* 1924, page 38.

21. Ibn Batuta: *Travels in Asia and Africa:* Nuniz says six old men alone survived, one being the treasurer and the others principal officers.

22. Vidyāranya's *Kālagnāna*, etc. in *Keladi Nripa Vijaya, āswāsa* I, verse 69, continuation.

23. Ferista, Briggs *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 413. According to *Channabasava Purāna* V. *kānda*, 9th *sandhi*, 78th verse, Kampila also died, perhaps during the same campaign.

24. S. K. Aiyangar: *South India and Her Mohamedan Invaders*, Chapter VI, p. 159.

25. *Ibid.*

26. H. M. Elliot and John Dawson: *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 616. Ibn Batuta was an eye witness of the execution of Kisalu Khān in 1334 A.D.; so the rebellion must have been a little earlier.

27. Goribidanur 16, *E. C.*, Vol. 10, p. 261 at Hunisenahalli (Goribidanur Hobli).

28. Sorab 494, *E. C.* Vol. VIII, page 161, at Kuppe.

29. Channapatna 7, *E. C.* Vol. 9, p. 171, at Hagalahalli (Closepete Hobli.)

30. Bangalore 110, *E. C.* Vol. 9, p. 26, at Byādarahalli (Begur Hobli.)

31. Except for a few additions from other sources pointed out in footnotes, this account is based mostly upon Nuniz's *Chronicle* (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 296-299).

32. Nuniz does not mention any date for this. The date has to be gathered from other sources or deduced from materials on hand. According to *Channa-bāsava Purāna*, *kānda* 5, part 10, *sandhi* 10, verse 2, the coronation of Harihara took place in *Sālivāhana Saka* 1258. It also says that 13 kings of this dynasty ruled in all for 155 years (*Ibid*, verse 2). This would be 1336 A.D. plus 155 which would correspond to 1491 A.D.

CHAPTER IV

VIRA HARIHARA I (1336-1354 A.D.)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EMPIRE

The beginnings of the Empire—The Sangama Dynasty—Hakka, Chief of Ānegondi—Vidyāranya and Sripāda—The associations of Hampi—The founding of Vidyānagar, 1336—Harihara, a vassal of Delhi 1336-1344—Quarter of a century of Mussalmān rule 1318-1344—The great national uprising of 1344—Harihara, King of Karnātaka 1346—The First Bāhamani War 1351.

The First Sangama Dynasty

Hakka, then, was the first person with whom the history of his House starts. He was the eldest living son of Sangama by his wife Kāmāmbika.[1] The next was Kampanna, the third Bukkanna, then Muddappa and last of all Mārappa. So far known at present, Sangama was comparatively an obscure person.[2] But, having fathered distinguished sons, his name is generally used to denote the first dynasty. There are strong reasons to suppose that Hakka and his successors were simple Kurubas by caste though later on[3] they claimed to be Yādavas and Somavamsis.

Hakka, Chief of Ānegondi

Hakka succeeded to the kingdom of his former master, Kumāra Rāmanātha[4] and because of this, his kingdom came to be called the Karnāta Empire. Shortly after his release, Hakka reached Ānegondi and took charge of the fort and the lands attached to it, as a vassal of the Sultān of Delhi. But he soon found that he had secured an empty inheritance. Ānegondi had been so completely destroyed during the last Mussalmān invasion, that all that was left of it was the ruined basements of a few houses, peopled by some very poor folk. He was obeyed as a king by the nobles and the people, as they had hated bitterly their subjection to a ruler

of foreign faith. Hakka, in his turn, strove to pacify the people and those who had revolted and made them safe. For the time being, he deferred conquering the lost area as he had neither the army nor the money for such an effort.[5] It must be at this stage that he met the famous sage, Vidyāranya.*

Vidyāranya—Sripāda†

Vidyāranya, or Mahādeva Bhatta to give him his original name, was a Smārtha Brahman of Karnātak.[6] He was born about 1268 in a town (unknown at present) on the banks of the Krishna.[7] His father was one Māyanna and mother Srimati. He had two brothers by name Sāyana and Bhoganātha.[8] With these he went at a very early age to Kānchi for study. There he pursued his course under a learned scholar by name Sreekanthanātha.[9] The famous Vaishnava saint and scholar Vedānta Desika became his class fellow about this period of his life. After his return home from Kānchi, Vidyāranya appears to have settled down as a married man for a time. It was during this period that Southern India witnessed the horrors of Mussalmān invasions. Being born poor and reduced to poorer circumstances, perhaps on account of the sudden change of political conditions, he made up his mind to overcome his sufferings by an appeal to the goddess Bhuvaneswari. With this object in view, he retired to the holy surroundings of Hampi and then, according to tradition, performed a severe penance for more than five years.

The Environs of Hampi

Hampi, or Pampa in Sanskrit, lies in a basin of land formed by five hills, Rishyasringa, Anjana, Mātanga, Mālyavanta, and Hemakuta, with the river Tungabhadrā running between. The

* Compare P. Jhansi Lakshmi: The Genealogy of the Sangama Dynasty (*AIOC Proceedings*, 20th Session, 1959, pp. 189-196.) (Ed.)

† Compare for a different approach: K. R. Venkataraman: *The Throne of Transcendental Wisdom*, pp. 30-50. Also compare T. N. Mallappa: Kriyāsakti Vidyāranya-Sripāda, Establisher of Vijayanagar Empire, (*Q.J.M.S.* LIX, 1-4 pp. 111-142; LX, pp. 57-87, 1968 and 1969; and B. K. Sengupta Vidyāranya: his identification as a Vedantic teacher *vis-à-vis* the Vijayanagar Empire (*Pro. of IHC*, 1956, 19th Session.) Also, T. N. Mallappa: *Kriyāsakti Vidyāranya* (Bangalore University); and a reply thereto by R. Chakravarthi *Kriyāsaki Vidyāranya Vimarse* (in Kannada) 1977, Mysore. (Ed.)

grounds around it were famous even before the days of Vidyāranya. Kishkindhā, on the northern bank of the river, was the place where Rāma, King of Ayodhyā, secured the friendship of Sugriva and enlisted the services of Hanumān and his fellow *vānaras*, before he marched on Lankā for the recovery of his wife, Sita. Mālyavanta was the hill on which he dwelt during his negotiations with Sugriva and during Hanumān's search for Sita. Rishyasringa was the abode of a holy sage of that name. Hemakuta was sacred for the temples of Virupāksha and Bhuvaneswari. As if these memorials of tradition were not enough, history had but lately, consecrated Ānegondi with the heroic blood of king Rāmanātha.

It was no wonder, then, that, with the vision of a sage, Vidyāranya had long foreseen the advantages of the situation and the inspiration of its memories. There is little doubt that, with Hakka's small State already in existence, he conceived the importance of a new capital for it in a locality so inviting as that of Hampi. Luckily, very soon an occasion for it arose.

The Founding of Vidyānagar 1336

Once, during the course of their hunting excursions, Hakka and Bukka crossed over to the southern side of the river, then thickly covered by a jungle. There, while bent upon their chase, they witnessed, according to tradition,[10] the extraordinary phenomenon of hares turning round upon the hounds. Struck with wonder, the princes communicated their experience to Vidyāranya with whom they had been for some time past in close acquaintance. The sage, who had long been watching for the right opportunity, declared the spot fit for raising a metropolis. The brothers appreciated the interpretation and set themselves to the task of building the new capital[11]. Thus, amidst surroundings hallowed by tradition, favoured by nature, and strengthened by art, on a soil sacred to Siva, Shakti and Vishnu alike, and under circumstances so appealing, were the foundations of the future imperial city laid in 1336. The coronation of Hakka soon followed about the same time, when he received the new name of Harihara. With a spirit truly praiseworthy, the brothers in their turn named the new capital 'Vidyānagari' or 'The city of learning'—in honour of their preceptor.

Harihara, a vassal of Delhi: 1336 to 1344

For some years after his anointment and the foundation of his capital, Harihara quietly watched the political situation. In Nuniz's words, he spent two or three years after his installation in 'doing his people many kindnesses so as to secure their goodwill and travelled about their fortresses and towns, for, he saw no cause for which he could make any war'. Meanwhile, the acquaintance between Vidyāranya and the brothers gradually grew into affection on the part of the sage and reverence on the part of the brothers. Vidyāranya's foresight and wisdom clearly saw the necessity for a new Hindu kingdom. With the nucleus of a small principality already in existence, he found the devout and brave brothers the fittest persons for such an enterprise. He gave them advice, encouragement and ideas. By his grace, Hakka and Bukka came into possession of a large amount of wealth also which they so much required for their future plans.

Meanwhile, events of great importance were happening all around. Nearly all land to the south of the little State had been recovered by Ballāla, and his generals, Pemmaya Nāik and Vijaya Danāyaka, had been stationed in charge of the frontiers, the former over the district of Chitradurg and the latter over Tumkur. To the north the sovereignty of Delhi was still supreme and the Sultān was hastening down to chastise his rebel provinces. Reaching Deccan about 1340, Mahamud Tughluk sent an expedition under Gangu Salar of Gulbarga against the rebel, Ballāla. Although that Mussalmān general succeeded in penetrating the enemy country and returned after burning the tower of the Belur temple, he appears to have left behind him no permanent effect of his invasion. Wārāngal, on the other hand, was invaded by the Sultān in person. But pestilence having broken out in his camp, his army suffered greatly and he was forced to retire to Devagiri. This disaster was the signal for widespread rebellions once again. His own officer Nazarat Khan, Governor of Bidar, revolted at Bidar, and Alisha, nephew of Zafur Khān, rose at Gulburga. This was followed by a severe famine in northern India and the rebellions of Bin-ul-Mulk of Oudh and of Fakr-ud-din Silahdar of Bengal. This was enough encouragement for the Hindus of south India to try and throw off the Mussalmān yoke which they so much detested.

Quarter of a century of Delhi rule: 1318-1344

Ever since the final loss of their political independence in 1318, the south Indian Hindus had suffered every kind of cruelty and every form of humiliation. Their proudest men, their semi-divine sovereigns, had been humbled to dust, flayed alive and butchered in cold blood. Their noblest cities had been reduced to ashes, their holiest places of worship desecrated and their revered priests slaughtered like sheep. Uncontrolled extortion and unchecked exploitation under the guise of taxation had ruined the richest men and reduced them to a state of bankruptcy. The hands of vandalism had destroyed their works of art and burnt their libraries of knowledge. Pillage and plunder had stalked through their peaceful villages and destroyed every trace of a happy home and a contented society. Honour, life and property had become insecure and every quarter was filled with woe and wail. From amidst such national agony, they had repeatedly tried to extricate themselves, but for want of favourable circumstances they had repeatedly failed. After much suffering and disappointment lasting over a quarter of a century, the day of deliverance came at last and the smouldering fires blazed out in a widespread national insurrection in 1344.

The Great National Rising: 1344

In this year a rumour rang across the peninsula that the Mohamadans, who were then numerous in Deccan, had formed a plot to massacre their Hindu subjects wholesale. This created a great consternation everywhere. At this juncture, Krishna Nāyak, son of Pratāparudra, privately went to Ballāla Deva[12] and suggested to him that they should together rise against their Mussalmān tyrants and drive them out of the Deccan. Ballāla agreed to this proposal and calling for a council of his kinsmen allotted to each of them a definite piece of territory for reconquest, while he himself set out to recover the Coromandal coast.[13] On his return home, Krishna Naik also strirred up a revolt in Telingāna, and after recovering Wārangal drove out Malik Makbul, the *naib vazir* of Delhi. This disaster to Mussalmān arms was so crushing that in a short time, with the exception of Devagiri and Gujarāt, all else was lost by the king of Delhi. Taking advantage of such

a favourable opportunity, Harihara also set himself to the task of clearing Karnātaka of all Mussalmān garrisons, rebel or imperial.

Harihara, King of Karnātaka: 1346

Ballala III, as we have seen, confined himself to the reconquest of the Tamil country. By 1341 A.D. this great king had reached the southern ocean and planted his pillar of victory at Rāmeswaram. But in a battle fought at Koppam[14] in September 1342 A.D. he was taken prisoner and butchered in cold blood by Nazir-ud-din, the nephew of Sultan Ghias-ud-din of Madurai. His death appears to have changed the political conditions in south India and put his kingdom into disorder. His son Virupāksha's presence was necessary in the Tāmil country to continue the struggle with the Madurai Sultan. So we find him ruling at Tiruvannāmalai for some months more.[15]

It was only in May 1343 A.D. that he returned to Dwārasamudra for his formal coronation. This ceremony perhaps was little better than a nominal declaration of Ballāla power over their Mysore tracts. For, Harihara and his brothers had already spread themselves in all directions to seize whatever country they could lay their hands on. Virupanna captured Penukonda before 1344 A.D.; Kampanna marched on Cuddappa and Nellore, Muddappa on Kolar and Bangalore, Mārappa on north Kanara and Shimoga, while Harihara and Bukká carried their arms into the Kadur,[16] Hassan and Mysore districts.[17] Within the course of a year, Harihara and Bukka had secured their hold on almost all these districts[18] and in A.D. 1344 they were even proclaimed kings at Dwārasamudra[19], the ancestral capital of the Ballālas.

The work of conquest, no doubt, continued even after this date[20]. Two years after, the Ballāla line came to an end. This was taken advantage of by Harihara to extend his power further over the country formerly ruled by that dynasty. Thus we find him master of the whole of Mysore in A.D. 1346 and of the Kongu[21] country by A.D. 1348. About this time he assumed the title of Mahā Mandaleswara* and also called himself the Sultan of the Hindus.

* This was the title assumed by a subordinate of the Hoysalas. See P. B. Desai, *op. cit.* (Ed.)

The First Bahamani War: 1351 A.D.[22]

Meanwhile, the rebellion of the Deccan Amirs had succeeded and a new Sultanate was established at Gulburga. This was the founding of the Bahamani Empire in A.D. 1347. Soon after, Alla-ud-din, the first Bahamani king, set out to recover all the lost lands in the Deccan, which formerly belonged to the Mussalmāns. This brought Harihara and his brother into conflict with the Mussalmān power. In the war that followed, Harihara lost a good deal of his northern conquests. In the words of Feristā: 'All land from the river Bhima to the vicinity of the fortress of Adoni and from the port of Choul to the city of Bidar' was brought under Bahamani authority. Soon after, Alla-ud-din Hasan Gangu, 'at the instance of his minister Mullik-Sief-ud-din Ghori, sent a considerable force into the Karnātaka, from whence his general returned successful with valuable contributions in money and jewels, besides two hundred elephants, and one thousand female singers'. Sometime after these events Harihara died.

NOTES

1. *E. C.* Vol. 10 (1905), pp. 135 at Mudiyanur and p. 269 at Hosuru.

2. Later on he was a general under Kampila (Kampa) and also his son-in-law. See Sewell, A *Forgotten Empire*, Chapter III, pp. 27-28 and *Kumāra Rāmana Charitra.*

3. Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, Chapter II, p. 22.

4. It was not without any claim to the throne that Mahamud-bin-Tughluk appointed him as the successor of Kampila, all of whose sons (according to S. K. Aiyangar's *South India and Her Mohamadan Invaders*, pp. 152-154), were carried away as prisoners to Delhi and made Mussalmāns. According to Ibn Batutā's account, Hakka and his brothers were related to the dead king and thus, according to the Hindu law, they were the next rightful claimants in the absence of sons. I have a hunch that a sister of these brothers was married to either Ballāla III or IV, probably the latter. This was the Ballappa Danāyaka so frequently associated with the names of the brothers in their early conquests in Kolār inscriptions and as ಅಳಿಯ ಬಳ್ಳಪ್ಪ ದಣಾಯಕ ಸೋದರಳಿಯ in a Shimogā inscription.

5. See Nuniz's Chronicle (Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 298-99).

6. The Mātanga hill inscription notices his sister as ಕನ್ನಡ ಕುಲಕೇ ಕನ್ನಡಿ, mirror of Kannada heritage.

7. H. Krishna Sāstry has edited the copperplate inscription which is still preserved in the Collector's office at Nellore, (Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, page 26).

8. See the introduction by Professor Aufrecht (*Oxford Catalogue*) to Mādhava's *Commentary on the Parāsarasmriti.*

9. Saiva philosopher Srikanthanātha; *E. I.* Vol. III, page 22.

10. This is, among others, according to the copperplate inscription at Bestahalli (see Bagepalli 70: *E. C.* Vol. 10, page 298 at Bestarahalli 1905). This tradition is repeated in nearly the same manner as mentioned here. The date for this is *Dhātri, Māgha Saptami.* Other details are that Harihara was of lunar race and Yadu descent from one Bukka whose wife was Nāgāmbika, from whom Sangama was born. To Sangama by his wife, Nāgāmbika, were born Harihara I, Kampa, Bukka I, Māsappa and Muddappa. Ānegondi is here called Kanjarakonapuri. The miracle of the hare and the hound is said to have happened on the south bank of the Tungabhadra river.

11. This legendary account, widely prevalent, is to be found in many literary sources. (Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, p. 299). The above, which is a summary of Nuniz's narrative, seems to have been gathered by him from one such. *Channabasava purāṇa, sandhi* 10, verse 2 says that one of Harihara's descendants, while he stayed at Ānegondi, raised the town of Vidyānagara near Virupāksha temple at Hampi. This town came to be better known as Vijayanagari; *Ibid., kānda* V, *sandhi* 63, verse 3.

12. This date has been based on Ferista's account in John Briggs: *Rise of the Muhamaddan Power in India.* But on p. 307 of *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* Vol. I by E. V. Subramanya Aiyar it is given as 1370 A.D. Ballāla III died in 1342 A.D. and his son Virupāksha Ballāla could not have possessed power to help anyone against Delhi.

13. This seems to put matters earlier, i.e., about 1335 A.D., when, while Ballāla III was alive, his generals Māchayya Danāyaka captured Penukonda and Singeya Danāyaka was active in Shimoga district.

14. Kadur 75: *E. C.* Vol. VI, page 47 at Bidanore. The inscription 1367 A.D. records Ballala's death on 8th September 1342 A.D. Compare this date of Ballāla III with the statement in the previous para which reads as if he lived in 1344 A.D.

15. Bangalore 41: *E. C.* Vol. 9, page 12 at Pattandur (Vartur Hobli).

16. Sringeri 1: *E. C.* Vol. 6, page 190.

17. Mysore 12: *E. C.* Vol. 3, part I, page 5 at Hale Bogādi (Lingāmbudhi).

18. Ibn Batuta, *Op. Cit.*

19. Channagiri 28: *E. C.* Vol. 7, page 321 at Nitagere (Basavāpattana Hobli).

20. Sorab 375 and Thirthahalli 154: *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 135 at Kātavalli (inscription dated 1347 A.D.) and page 346 at Chatanakodagi (inscription dated 1346 A.D.).

21. Arokiaswamy's *The Kongu Country*, University of Madras, 1956, p. 316.

22. Major King's translation of *Burham-i-Massir*, p. 12. Here the Bahamani sultan is mentioned as having started on his conquests after the death of Muhamed-Bin-Tughluk in Sindh, which event is dated 21st Moharam A.H. 752 i.e., 20th of March 1351 A.D.

CHAPTER V

BUKKA RAYA I (1354-1377[1] A.D.)

Political conditions at Bukka's accession—The Malabar expedition, c. 1358 A.D.—The Second Bahamani War, c. 1361-62 A.D. The Third Bahamani War, c. 1356-1368 A.D.—Battle of Mudgal—Battle of Siruguppa—First siege of Vijayanagar—Kampana's South Indian Conquest—1368-71 A.D. Religious and literary revival—The Fourth Bahamani War 1375-78 A.D. The Second siege of Vijayanagar—Character of Bukka—Bukka's Court.

Harihara appears to have left no surviving son. Even if one were living, he could not have become king, for, Bukka, his brother, had been nominated *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent as early as 1337[2]. He was the middle of the Sangama sons[3], and the ablest and best of them all. His coming to power in 1354 indicates his independent rule, for, earlier in the government of the kingdom, he was associated with his brother from the very day of its foundation. Before he became king, he had seen service in many places and in various forms, having been general and governor in turn at Dwārasamudra[4], Penukonda and Hosabeedu.

Political conditions at Bukka's accession

Bukka succeeded to his inheritance at a time when its fortunes swayed in the balance. His kingdom was yet a young sapling being neither broad-branched in extent, nor deep-rooted in time. Himself a rebel against Muhamud, he was not certain of his successor Feroz Shah's attitude towards him.

Although the Tughluk supremacy had vanished, it was in no way a gain to his little kingdom. For, instead of the distant Delhi lion, the Bahamani tiger had established itself close at hand, watching his every movement. In the first war with the new kingdom, Vijayanagar had measured its strength and failed. But to counter-balance these disadvantages, there were other factors to cheer him up. The disappearance of the Ballālas from southern

India had left their recent conquests without an heir, and these were open to any deserving claimant bent upon continuing their ancient tradition. Their late allies, the Kākatiyās, though reduced in size and circumstances, had again reared their head and were not unwilling to co-operate with another Hindu power. We shall see as we proceed how Bukka handled the fluid situation and with what amount of success.

The Maa'bar Expedition: 1358[5]

Bukka began well. Soon after he assumed power, he sent for the wise Vidyāranya, who had, for some reason or other, gone to Banāras.[6] Sometime after 1337, he revived and continued the Ballāla alliance with the king of Wārangal. As the popular Sultan, Allā-ud-din Bahamani, still lived, he prudently maintained peace with him setting aside for the time all ideas of retaliation or reconquest. The only country, therefore, that held out any chance of successful interference was Maa'bar, whose ruler was a Kurbat Hassan Kangri.[7] This chief had sometime before thrown off Delhi supremacy and declared his independence. Whenever he held his court, he appeared adorned hand and foot with female ornaments and made himself notorious for his puerile actions. The men of Maa'bar, greatly incensed against him, rebelled. Taking advantage of this internal commotion, Bukka marched at the head of a body of men and elephants, took Kurbat prisoner, and made himself master of his territory. This was reported to the king of Delhi, but Sultan Feroz could do nothing as his army was all along engaged in war and so needed rest.[8]

The Second Bahamani War: c. 1361-2

Alla-ud-din Bahamani was the king of Gulburga when Bukka came to power. Partly because both wanted time to organize their conquests, and partly on account of the effects of the Vijayanagar reverses of 1352, Bukka held his peace with his northern neighbours for nearly six years. The death of Alla-ud-din in 1358[9] and the succession of his son offered Bukka a fine opportunity to try and recover lost ground. Consequently he and the king of Wārangal sent a joint demand[10] to the new Sultān, Muhamad Shah, to restore some territories which formerly belonged

to them. As the Sultān was not then ready for war, he gave no definite reply but kept the Hindu ambassadors at his Court for 18 months under some excuse or the other.

Meanwhile, he prepared for war and when ready, made extravagant counter-demands on Vijayanagar and Wārangal. Alleging that the Hindu merchants of their kingdoms were melting Bahamani coins and were giving trouble to Bahamani merchants, he declared war first on Wārangal.[11] In all these campaigns in the course of three to four years, Muhamad Shah secured much plunder and caused more suffering. At the time of capture of Villumpatam, the Sultān massacred its inhabitants and put its king, Vināyakadeva, to a barbarous death[12]. At last Warangal secured peace only by a sacrifice of an immense treasure, a magnificent throne[13] and the cessation of Golkonda.

The Hindu kings had been completely outwitted. Bukka could scarcely keep quiet, while his Wārangal ally was being crushed out of existence. So he made haste to send ambassadors to Feroz Shah Tughluk offering to recover the lost Imperial territories from Bahamani hands, if only a Delhi army could be sent south. But nothing came out of this as Feroz was busy with internal troubles and could take no steps[14] to attend to Bukka's representations. Instead, it roused the anger of Muhamad Shāh Bahamani all the more and offered another cause for the next[15] Bahamani war.

The Third Bahamani War: c. 1366 *January*[16]-1368 A.D.*

The relations between Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Kingdom were rapidly getting strained, and the final rupture came about this way. Once a set of 300 musicians performed before Sultān Muhamad Shah and greatly pleased him. Being drunk at that time, he sent them with a draft to Vijayanagar ordering its king to reward them from his own coffers. Angry at this stupid demand, Bukka offered the envoy a counter indignity and turned him out of his city. This was enough for the opening of hostilities. Bukka, to have the advantage on his side, collected his army and took the offensive first[17]. Crossing the Tungabhadra with

* The following events are largely based on Muslim sources. There is also another source—the inscriptions—and it is a question of evaluating evidence. See P. B. Desai, *History of Karnataka, op. cit.*, pp. 333-37. (Ed.)

30,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and 100,000 foot, he soon captured Mudgal and put every person in it to the sword. Only one man escaped alive to Gulburga to carry the news. When Muhamad heard it, he became wild with rage, vowing vengence to kill 100,000 infidels in retaliation, appointed his son Mujahid as his successor and crossing the Krishna with his army arrived soon near Mudgal.

Battle of Mudgal

Bukka knew that he had hard work before him. So, for greater safety, he sent away all his treasures to Vijayanagar, while he himself prepared to meet the Sultān. The next day, he led his army 4 miles from his camp but as rainfall overnight had made the ground boggy, it greatly hindered the free movement of his army. Coming to know of these troubles of Bukka, the enemy advanced at once to meet him on the next morning. Thus caught at a disadvantage, Bukka offered no resistance, and retired with select troops towards the fortress of Adoni, leaving everything else behind him. Muhamad soon entered the Hindu camp, plundering it and true to his vow, massacred all 90,000 persons that remained behind including women and children.

Battle of Siruguppa

In the meantime, Bukka, who had now fixed his headquarters at Adoni, had sent forward his general Mallinātha to oppose the Mussalmāns. Accordingly, he chose his ground on the banks of the Tungabhadra and waited there with his army for the arrival of the Bahamani king. Muhamad, on the other hand, spent that season near Mudgal and after receiving re-inforcements from home, marched forward to meet Mallinātha. He soon crossed the river and somewhere[18] near Siruguppa a great battle took place between them on the 23rd of July 1366 A.D. The Hindus were at least 40,000 horse and 500,000 foot strong. The Musalmāns numbered about 15,000 horse and 30,000[19] foot. From morning till forenoon the battle raged. In the beginning, many Mussalmān generals like Musha Khān and Esab Khān were killed and the victory was almost within Hindu reach. But towards the end, Mallinātha received a mortal wound, and the Vijayanagar army fled, and the Mussalmāns slaughtered all they came across even pregnant women and suckling children.[20]

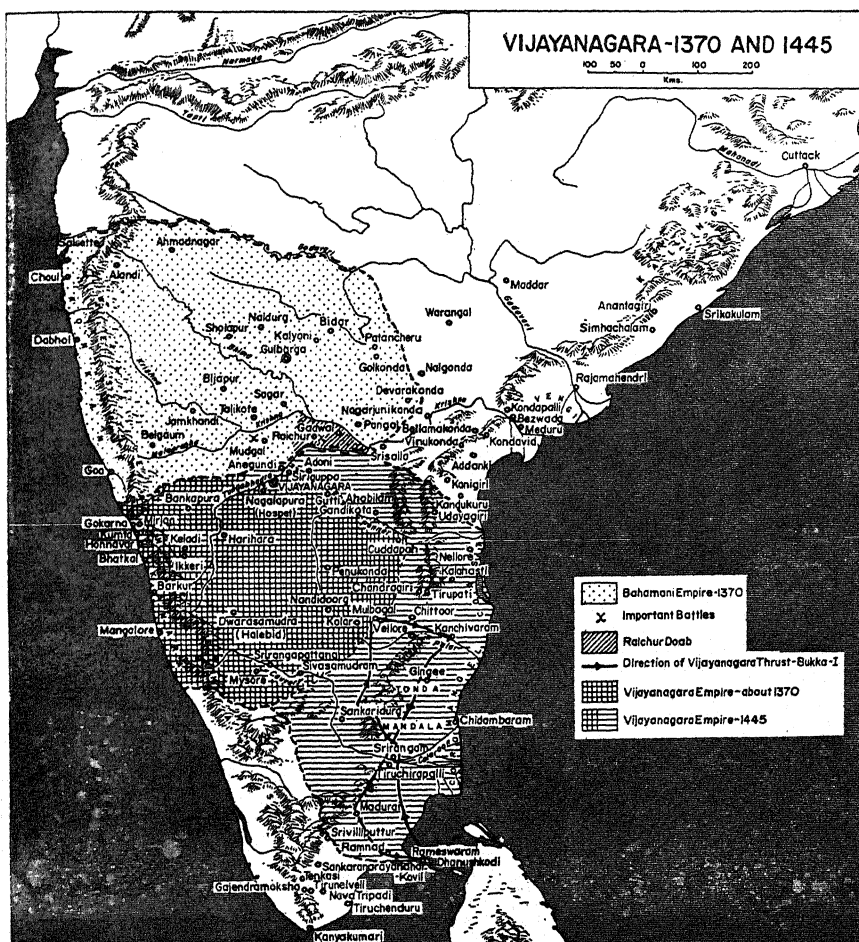
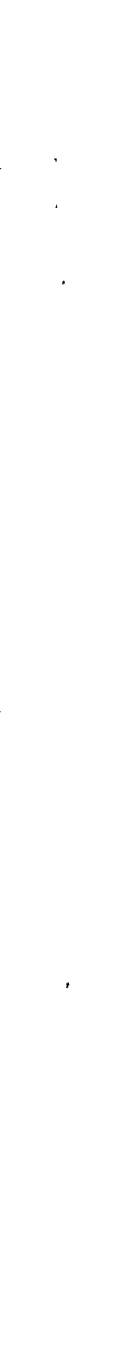
The First Siege of Vijayanagar

The loss of the Siruguppa battle seriously affected Bukka's plans by opening the road to the interior. Any attempt at a pitched battle would not only have cut him off from his capital, but also would have placed that city itself at the mercy of the invaders. As an experienced general, Bukka must have known this. The only alternative, then, was to save his army and capital by fighting a defensive battle behind its walls. He raised his camp from Adoni and began to retreat. But the roads, blocked by the fleeing fugitives and marauding victors, made it no easy matter to reach Vijayanagar. Though he chose the roads through the woods, it took him three months to reach the destination.[21]

Muhamad closely followed the Rāya all the way, neither overtaking him nor successfully shutting him away. At last when he found the Rāja inside the walls of the city, defying his attacks, he laid seige to it. But though he tried for one month to capture it, he failed. Muhamad then attempted the ruse of raising the seige to draw Bukka out and he crossed the Tungabhadrā. This time he succeeded. Bukka came out of Vijayanagar and gave him battle, but was beaten badly, losing 10,000 of his soldiers, and he again retired behind the city walls. Muhamad realised that his victory could not bring matters to a close. So he set himself for ravaging the surrounding country, slaughtering those he came across. Bukka felt himself powerless to protect his civil population. The only choice was trying peace by agreeing to pay his draft. Muhamad, on his side, swore not to kill even a single person and bound his successors to honour his resolve. By then, however, according to Ferista, 500,000 Hindus had been massacred, and the districts of Karnāta were so wasted that for several decades they did not recover their normal population.[22]

Kampanna's South Indian Conquest: 1368-71 A.D.

Shortly after peace was concluded, Bukka resumed[23] his plan for the conquest of South India. There were various reasons to impell him to embark upon this adventure. Ever since the disappearance of the Ballālas, the people of these tracts had been groaning under a multitude of sufferings. Internecine wars among the various local chiefs had banished peace and created

Drawn by N.H.Itagi; Direction by M.H.Gopal

insecurity to life and property. The continuance of the Sultanate of Madurai had become a thorn in the side of Hindu culture. Broken temples and disestablished religious *maths* cried loudly for a deliverer. Ballāla's work of reconquest had been left unfinished.

It is no wonder then that, as successor to his traditions, if not to inheritance, Bukka should have taken up his task upon himself. Therefore, as soon as his army could free itself from its recent engagements, he issued instructions[24] to his son Kumāra Kampaṇṇa, then his Viceroy at Muḷbāgal, to continue[25] the south Indian conquests, accompanied by great generals like Gopanna Danāyaka, a Brahman, and Mangappa Dandanātha, the ancestor of the future Saluva Narasinga.

After leaving Muḷbāgal, Kampa entered Tondamandala,[26] ruled by Sambava Rāya or Champa Rāya. Fixing his headquarters at Virinchipuram,[27] he laid seige to Rāja Gamchiram,[28] Sambava's stronghold. In a duel which soon ensued, Kampa killed Sambava Rāya and took the fort. He next proceeded to Kānchi and made large benefactions to the temples. Leaving a garrison there, he continued his march south till he reached Madurai. There in a fierce battle he killed its sultan and thus put an end to the Mussalmān rule in the south, for many years to come. From there he went further south to Rāmnād and Rāmeswaram all the way restoring temples and providing for their worship. The southern ocean was reached by 1371 A.D. and with this, Kampa's conquests were over. He stayed in the south for a couple of years organising the administration before he finally returned to Muḷbāgal in 1373 A.D.[29]

This conquest of southern India was one of the greatest achievements in the history of Vijayanagar. It soon raised a small principality to the dignity of an Empire. Bukka signalised this by assuming the titles of the king of kings and the 'Lord of Three Seas', and by sending an Embassy to Tai-tsu, the Emperor of China.[30] The capital, so long named as Vidyānagara was renamed Vijayanagara or the city of victory in memory of his extraordinary conquests.

*Religious and Literary Revival**

Side by side with these political events, the Empire was pulsating with great religious and literary activities. Under the patronage of the king, and largely at his suggestion, Vidyāranya planned extraordinary schemes for the revival of religious learning irrespective of religious opinions. He invited scholars from far and near and gave them every convenience and encouragement and then set them to work on a variety of subjects such as logic, grammar, astronomy, philosophy and Vedic theology. The volume of work turned out under his supervision has been the wonder of the whole of India. Among his works *Sarvadarśana Sangraha*,[31] *Sankara Digvijaya*, *Parāśara Madhaveeya*, *Manusmruti Vyākhyāna*, *Jaimineeya-Dhaluvritti*, *Vinarana Prameya*, *Vedānta Panchadashi*, *Desopanishad Deepika*, *Vyavahāra Mādhava*, *Kālam Mādhava* and a number of small *stotras* stand out. His brother, Sāyanāchārya, was an equally able scholar. No less than 113 works are attributed to him. Of these *Subhāshita Sudhānidhi*, *Alankāra Sudhānidhi*, *Kaivalyopanishad Deepikā*, *Dattaka Meemāmsa*, *Pancharudriyātaka*, *Panineeya-Shikshā-Shāshya* or *Poorusha Sookta-Teekā*, *Atmaneelina Viveka* may be mentioned here. Bhojanātha wrote his *Mahā Ganapathi Stotra*, *Rāmollāsa*, *Tripura Vijaya*, *Sringāra Manjari*, *Vashama—Māla*, and *Govinda Sataka*. Besides, Vidyāranya and Sāyana supervised the commentaries on all the four *Vedas*, the *Brāhmanas* and many other works.

Others, though not under the direct patronage of Bukka, were stimulated to write their own religious works, some as treatises, some as defences and others as criticisms. Of these Vedānta Desika was a leading exponent of Rāmānuja philosophy. He is said to have written 121 works in all, 8 being *Kāvyas*, 24 *Prabhandas*, 24 *Shāstrias*, 32 *Stuties* and 32 *Rahasyās*. Of these *Yādavābhyudaya*, *Haṁsa Sandeśa*, *Sankalpa Sooryodaya*, *Rahasyamātrica*, *Talina Ratnāvali*, *Abhaya Pradhāna Sāra*, *Geetārtha Sangraha*, *Nyāya Siddhanjana Sarvatra-Siddhe*, *Sāta-Doosham*, *Shilpārtha Sāra*, *Achyuta Śatakam*, *Varadarāja Panahashat*, *Shristuti*, and *Abhiti-Stavam*. *Garuda Dandakam*, *Tatva-Teeka*,

* Compare K. Sarojini Devi. 'Religious Tolerance of the Sangama Rulers of Vijayanagar' [*JIH* XLI, (i), 1963, pp. 261-74]. (Ed.)

Tātparya Chandrica, *Tatva-mukta-kalpa*, *Adhikāma sārāvali*, and *Rahasya-traya Sāra* were among Mādhva Akshobhya Theertha's works. His disciple, Jayateertha, to whom about 37 works are attributed, wrote his *Nyāya Sudhā* and *Pramāṇa Paddhati*. These works, except for a few from the pen of Vedānta Desika, were mostly in Sanskrit. Among Śaiva authors, Bheemakavi, an Arādhya Brahman, wrote his *Basava Purāna*, *Bhringi Dandaka* and *Bheema Kaveeśwara Ragale* in Kannada. Among Jains, Kesavavarni wrote his Kannada *vrittis* to the works *Gommatasāra* and *Sāra-traya*.

Thus, judged from whatever angle, the performance was praiseworthy, exhaustive and inspiring, casting a glorious lustre on Bukka's reign and leaving a splendid legacy to posterity in the form of noble literature. As a result of this extraordinary literary revival, the three well-known South Indian sects,—the *Smārtha*, the *Srivaiṣṇava* and the *Mādhva*—took form and shape and became firmly established as religious systems in India.

The Fourth Bahamani War: June 1375—March 1378

After his south Indian campaign, Bukka enjoyed only a short interval of peace. Soon another war broke out in 1375 A.D. The same old causes were at the back of this also. Muhamad Shāh's invasion had been mostly over the Doāb question. But the peace of January 1368 A.D. had left both parties dissatisfied. So, the issue was again revived by Mujahid, the new Sultan of Gulburga. He demanded Bukka to restore some forts and districts on the eastern side of the Doab between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, as these were held jointly by the Vijayanagar and Bahamani Kingdoms; and as this led to constant quarrels, he asked the Vijayanagar king to confine himself in future to the Tungabhadrā. Bukka replied that, as the true boundary was the Krishnā, the Sultan should evacuate the whole Doab; Raichoor and Mudgal had always belonged to the Ānegondi family*; and also he should return the elephants taken by his father during the last war. Both sides not yielding, the Bahamani king soon declared war and crossing the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, marched on Adoni.

* Compare P. M. Joshi: The Raichoor—Doab in Deccan History: Re-interpretation of a Struggle : (*JIH*, XXXVI (3), 1958, pp. 379-396.) (Ed.)

On his part Bukka played the old game again. He stood waiting for the Bahamani army on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Coming to know of these plans, the sultan divided his army into three divisions, sending one to besiege Adoni, another to Vijayanagar, while, with the third, he himself marched to meet the Rāya. For some reason Bukka again avoided a pitched battle and retired to the hills and woods of Setu-Bundh-Rāmeśwar.[32] By moving from place to place, he made it difficult for the sultan's army to follow him. Six months were spent like this, in which interval Mujahid went on pillaging the country far and wide and destroying Hindu temples on the way. At last Bukka finding the health of himself and his family failing on account of moving in the forests returned by another route to Vijayanagar and prepared himself to defend the place. The sultan too soon followed him and after joining his own besieging army, settled down before the walls of Vijayanagar.

The Second Siege of Vijayanagar

Soon after, the siege commended in all earnest. Varying successes followed. According to Ferista, Mujahid once succeeded in entering the suburbs and outer fortifications and destroyed a famous temple there. In his over-enthusiasm to capture the place, he risked losing his life at the hands of a sallying force. A determined band of Hindus put up a very brave defence and kept the besiegers out. Soon 20,000 horse and a vast number of foot arrived from the provinces as reinforcement to the Rāya. This and the indiscretion committed by Daud, the Sultān's uncle, in abandoning an important post at Dhonnasandra, turned the tables against the Mussalmāns by cutting off their retreat. Finding himself in a dangerous situation, Mujahid raised the siege and after extricating himself with great difficulty retired to his army besieging Adoni. Soon after, Bukka died and was succeeded by his son Harihara.

Character of Bukka

In spite of Ferista's one-sided account upon which only we have to depend for the present, Bukka was a remarkable man in many ways. He had most of the qualities that make men at once popular and successful in life. As a brother, as a subordinate,

as a master, as a disciple and as a king he earned the good opinion of all. Shrewd and far-sighted, with lion-like courage and lofty spirit, true of speech and quick in action, devoted to religion, self-collected in adversity, impartial by nature, yet discriminate in his choice of men and judgement—, this is how he is described in both literature and inscriptions. He was no upstart adventurer. Thrown all over the world as a wreck of fortune, then beginning life again as a petty officer of a petty State, he rose to the position of a king and emperor by his own rare gifts of body and mind. Meeting the Tughluk power at its ebb, he, in conjunction with his brothers, had rolled back the tide of Mussalmān aggression from the Bhima to the Indian ocean. By his magnetic personality, he gathered round him the then cowed, scattered fragments of Hindu chivalry and after inspiring them with hope and courage, moulded them into a devoted band of warriors. Mādarasa Odeyar, Mallappa Odeyar, Nāganna Odeyar, and his son Devappa Odeyar, Mangappa Danayāk, Gopanna Danāyak, Baichappa Danāyak,* Basavayya Danāyak and Dugganna Danāyak were a few of the many that rose to power under him. He championed the cause of his people's security, revived learning, restored many temples and established numerous *agrahāras*. It is no wonder then that his subjects called him their deliverer, saviour, a second Vikramāditya[33] and an avatār of Vishnu.

Bukka's court

But, in justice it must be acknowledged that no small portion of the glory of Bukka's reign was due to Vidyāranya, his spiritual guide. What Brihaspati was to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhātithi to Shaibya, Dhoumya to Yudhistira, Shouja to Pritumu, Shatānanda to Nimi and Vasistha to Sree Rāma, that Vidyāranya is said to have been to king Bukka. A giant in scholarship, a genius in wisdom, he was as great in the arts of peace as he was in those of war. More than any other, he bore the responsibilities of the new kingdom. The burden of three dead Empires, the Senna, the Kākatiya and the Ballāla was on its shoulders and all Hindu India turned to Vijayanagar for support.

* Compare H. Sreenivāsa Jois: Baichappa Danāyaka, Notes (*QJMS*) XXXII, pp. 835-837.

NOTES

1. Yedatore 46; also Bachihalli inscription. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1914-15, *M.A.R.* 1915, page 42 *E. C.* Vol. 4, part II, page 97 at Hebbasuru.

2. Channarāyapatna 256; *E. C.* Vol. 5, part I, page 520 at Hulikere. (Nuggehalli hobli). Date of inscription 1378.

3. Nagar 65; *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 283, in Rāmachandrapura *Math.*

4. Channagiri 28 (7); *E. C.* Vol. 7, part I, page 183 at Chikka Kogilur.

5. Tiptur 45; lines 7 and 1, refer to one Baichappa Danāyaka who is said to have marched against Malayakes and fought with them. The *Saka* year Hevilambi—1357-8 A.D.—will fit into this expedition. *E. C.* Vol. 12, page 84 at Alburu (Nonavinakere hobli).

6. *Mysore Archaeological Report* 1916; page 57, para 98, Lines 21-22.

7. Here I have followed S. K. Aiyangar's inference (*South India* and *her Mohamedan Invaders*, pp. 186-187) that this Hassan was a south Indian chief and not the founder of the Bahamani kingdom. Possibly he was the same Hassan or Hassan Shah of Malabār, the father-in-law of Ibn Batuta, and he began to rule in about 1337 A.D. (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912-13 page 55).

8. Wholly based upon *Tarik-i-Feroz Shahi* (S. K. Aiyangar *Op. Cit.*, page 186).

9. According to Tazkarat-ul-Mulak the date is 1359 A.D. (King: *History of the Bahamani Dynasty*, p. 26).

10. This is Ferista's account (Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, page 301).

11. *Ibid.* But according to *Burhan-Masir* the war with Vijayanagar preceded that of Warangal (King, *Op. Cit.* p. 27).

12. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, Chapter III, p. 29.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

14. *Ibid.*

15. As this war was not fought between Vijayanagar and Bahamani but only between Bahamani and Wārangal, it is better not to call it the Second Bahamani War which should really be that of 1366-1368 A.D.

16. Sewell; *Op. Cit.*, page 32.

17. *Ibid.*, page 32-33.

18. Sewell (*Ibid.*, p. 36) surmises that the place might be close to Kairchal.

19. Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, page 315.

20. This account is wholly based on *Ibid.*

21. The wording of Ferista in relating these incidents scarcely does any justice to Bukka as a veteran warrior. So I have recast his statement without altering the meaning.

22. Mainly based on Ferista's account, *Op. Cit.*

23. There is reason to believe that Kampanna had begun his conquests before 1366 A.D. as we have his inscriptions dated 1363 A.D., 1365 A.D. and even 1371-72 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, page 323-25) scattered over Southern India. If so, he must have only resumed his activities now.

24. Bukka seems to have personally started the expedition as his presence at Mulbagal in 1367 A.D. suggests. (Malur 79: *E. C.* Vol. 10, page 210 at Kodihalli (Lakkur hobli).

25. There is evidence to show that Kampa had conquered parts of South India earlier. *E. C.* Vol. 6, No. 33, page 325.

26. The present Arcot.

27. *Kamparāyacharitam* of Gangādevi in S. K. Aiyangar's: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, page 23.

28. Identified as Jinji by S. K. Aiyangar, *Op. Cit.*

29. Kolar 205: *E. C.* Vol. 10, page 71 at Vanarasi (Dalasanur hobli).

30. Bretschuciders '*Medieval Researches*', Vol. II, p. 222. The old name also survived for long years after this.

31. There is reason to suppose that these were completed in his earlier years.

32. There is one Rameswar Bund in Hadagali taluk on the southern Bank of Tungabhadrā, about 15 miles west of Hospet. Perhaps it is this place which Ferista refers to.

33. Shikarpur 281: *E. C.* Vol. 7, part I, page 256 at Haromuchchadi Agrahāra.

CHAPTER VI

VIRA HARIHARA RĀYA II (C. 1376-1404 A.D.)[1]

The Vijayanagar reaction 1377 A.D.—The Konkan expedition C. 1380 A.D.—The Wārangal expedition C. 1384 A.D.—Konkan conquest completed C. 1395-97 A.D.—Revenue settlement of the Empire --The Fifth Bahamani War 1398-99 A.D.—The Great-Durga Devi famine—Harihara's court.

Harihara was a son of Bukka by his wife Gourāmbika.[2] He ascended the throne in the middle of a war. Although Mujahid retreated from the walls of Vijayanagar, he had not left its territories. Adoni was still besieged and nobody knew what would happen next if it fell. It was, therefore, settled to send a relieving force to its succour.

The Vijayanagar Reaction 1377 A.D.

Channappa Odeyar, the king's nephew[3] led the force. Fate and luck alike combined to crown his efforts with success. Dissensions broke out in the Bahamani camp, as a result of the Dhonnasandra affair. This was very much to the advantage of the Hindu army. Adoni, besieged for 9 months, was shortly after the army's arrival, recovered by Channappa.[4] Greatly disappointed, Mujahid retired to his dominions with plunder and between 60,000 and 70,000 prisoners, mostly women and children. Soon after, hearing that Mujāhid on his way home was murdered by Daud, his uncle, and that Daud in his turn was assassinated at Gulburga by a follower of the dead king, the Vijayanagar army over-ran the Bahamani territory as far as the Krishnā and camped before the fortress of Raichoor.[5] But, according to Ferista,[6] on Mahamad Shah's coronation and the normalisation of affairs at Gulburga, the siege was raised, and the Rāya returned home after agreeing to pay the tribute stipulated in the reign of Mahamad Shah Ghazz.

The Konkan Expedition[7] C. 1380 A.D.[8]

Konkan appears to have been under Vijayanagar overlordship even in Bukka's reign.[9] Perhaps encouraged by the late reverses

of Vijayanagar or instigated by the Bahamani Sultans, the local chief of this province had rebelled some time before 1380 A.D. An expedition was organized by Mādhava Rāya,[10] Governor of Goa, the forces in the field being led by Baichappa Danāyaka,[11] a Jaina officer. Kareyapattana[12] was soon taken and its ruler Pāyanna was forced to flee with his wife and children to the protection of Kandikere Byrenāik, a local chief in the Hiriyoor locality.[13] In this battle Baichappa was killed.[14]

The Warangal Expedition C. 1383 A.D.

Some time after, about 1384 A.D., Harihara fitted out another expedition to the Orugallu country.[15] The reasons for this are not clear.[16] Prince Bukka, the king's son and the Viceroy at Mulbāgal, was in command this time. All that is known of this expedition is that the Vijayanagar army fought a battle with the Mussalmāns at Kottakonda,[17] in which one of its generals, Sāluva Rāmadeva of Talkād, was killed.

Konkan Conquest completed C. 1395-1397 A.D.

Further action in Konkan had been stopped after the successes of 1380 A.D. It was renewed some time about 1395 A.D. and carried on till 1387 A.D. This time it was Kāchanna, son of Mādhava Rāya of Goa,[18] that directed the operations. In this campaign, Chennaiah Naik, one of his generals, recovered the fort of Rangini[19] from the 'Turks' but was killed in the effort. Soon after Pratāpagiri[20] and Talagani[21] also fell, and by their capture, the supremacy of Vijayanagar was further extended over Konkan. This achievement was signalised by the father by assuming the title of '*Sapta-Konkana-Dhooli-patta*' and the son by '*Pratāpa-giri-Durga-Malla*'.

Revenue Settlement of the Empire

It was perhaps about this time that a great internal reform in the Vijayanagar empire was effected. The old minister Vidyāranya still lived and his learned treatise '*Parāśara Mādhaveeya*',[22] perhaps specially written for the circumstances of the times, helped the settlement of the imperial revenue system. The king revised and systematized the levy of land revenue on the basis of the *shāstras*. One half of the produce was to be enjoyed by the

cultivators, one fourth by the local chiefs, one twelfth by the Brahmans and the Gods, and one sixth by the government. The land was not measured, but a rough estimate of the produce was made after deducting for seed requirements, and the government share of produce was commuted to a money assessment for which the local chiefs were responsible. Under the rules adopted for the commutation, the government share amounted to one pagoda for 2½ *kurttis* land while formerly that had been the amount paid for three *kurttis*.[23] The share of temples and the Brahamans was collected by the government and paid over by it.

The Fifth Bahamani War 1398-1399 A.D.

Scarcely was the first conquest of Konkan over, a new war broke out with the Bahamani sultan. Events happening at Gulburga could scarcely keep Vijayanagar quiet. The death of Mahamad Shah I in April, 1397 A.D. was followed by the accession of three sultans —Gheias-ood-din, Shums-ood-din and Feroz—, in rapid succession. The troubles of the neighbouring Mussalmān kingdom was apparently to the advantage of Vijayanagar. According to Ferista[24], it was Harihar that first began the war, his object being the recovery of Mudgal and Raichoor*. The Rāya advanced northward with 30,000 horse and a vast number of foot and encamped on the banks of the Krishnā to oppose the passage of the Moslems. Shortly after, Sultan Feroz, the king of Gulbargā also arrived facing him. Feroz was in despair about victory, but by a clever ruse, he won the day. A *Khāzi* named Sirangi disguised himself as an attendant of some dancing girls and during an exhibition of his professional skill in the Hindu camp, suddenly pounced upon the king's son and assassinated him in his own tent[25]. Meanwhile as previously arranged, Feroz crossed the river with his army, and the Hindu camp was thrown into confusion. Its leader retreated to Vijayanagar and took shelter behind its walls, followed by Feroz who slaughtered the Hindus all the way. Along with Feroz, had set out his brother Ahmed ravaging the districts south of Vijayanagar. In a short time, Ahmed fulfilled the instructions and returned with numberless prisoners, among whom there were many Brahmans. The

* Epigraphical evidence is to the contrary. Anyway this region was a disputed one. Also see P. M. Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, *JIH* 1958 (Ed.)

relatives of these Brahmans in the city begged Harihar to offer ransom for them and get them released. Harihara paid 'ten lakhs of *Oons*'[26] and entered into a treaty that the boundaries of their respective kingdoms would be as before the war, that each party was to refrain from molesting the subjects of the other and that an annual tribute was to be paid by Vijayanagar.

The Great Durgā Devi famine

These devastating wars could not but leave their evil effects behind. Beginning with the year 1396 A.D., a terrible famine called Durgā Devi raged over the Deccan, for twelve years, during which period rains failed. The country became a desert and the hill-forts and strong places passed on from the Mussalmāns into the hands of the petty chiefs and the bandits[27]. No revenue could be recovered and large numbers of people died. This greatly weakened the Bahamani power, giving Vijayanagar time to recover. Possibly this explains the absence of wars during this period. Harihara, on his part, was not slow to exploit the opportunity to his own advantage. Encouraged by the kings of Malvā, Gujarāt and Khāndesh, he defied the Bahamani sultān and in about 1401 A.D., refused to pay his tribute for four years[28].

Harihara's court etc.

Harihara was as popular as his father. He was addressed by his subjects *Rāja Rishi* or the saintly king. His court was equally distinguished with great scholars and great soldiers. Madhvāchārya and Sāyanāchārya lived in the early years of his reign. Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti, a famous scholar and Śaivite teacher, was his family preceptor[29]. The famous Kannada Jaina poet, Mādhava, the author of *Dharmanātha Purāna* patronized by Mudda Bandanātha, was his court poet, while Mangarāja, the Jaina author of *Khagendra Manidarpana*, Abhinava Mangarāja, the Jaina author of *Abhinava Nigantu* and Chandra Kirti, author of *Paramāgamasāra*, lived during the period. The king himself who had the titles of *Rāja Vālmiki*[30] and *Karnātaka Vaidya-Vilāsa* was a great patron of literature, especially Kannada.

The most famous of his generals was Gundappa Dandanātha, a mighty conqueror of the *Turushkas*. Mangappa Danāyaka, Gunda's son, Irugappa Dandanātha[31] a Jaina and Nāganna

Odeyar, were also well-known for their prowess. Mādarasa Odeyar[32] or Mādhava Rāya, the Brāhman Governor of Goa and the western countries, was the most famous[33] of his ministers. Mādappa Dandanātha, Muddappa Dandanātha, the king's uncle, and Mallappa Odeyar were all his ministers for some time. Other men of note were Vittappa Odeyar, Depanna Odeyar and Baichanna Odeyar.

NOTES

1. Thirthahalli 129: *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904), page 337 at Muktihariharapura fixes his death date definitely as Sunday, 31st August 1404 A.D.

2. Also called Honnayi or Honnāmbika, Nagar 65: *E. C.* Vol. VIII, page 283 in Rāmachandrapuat *Math.*

3. Son of Mallappa Odeyar, younger brother of Harihara. *E. C.* Vol. XII, Kunigal 43, page 63 at Nāgasandra (1904).

4. Kunigal 43: *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 63 at Nāgasandra (Yedeyur hobli).

5. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, page 342.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

7. Thirthahalli 129: *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 337 at Muktihariharapura notes in passing Harihara II's conquest of Konkan.

8. Sorab 152 of C. 1380 A.D.: *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 51 at Udri.

9. Ferista in Briggs, *Op. Cit* also Nuniz in Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

10. Must be the same as the Amātya Mādhava Manthri and Mādarasa Odeyar. Hassan 7: *E. C.* Vol. V; *TL* 201, Vol. VIII; Tiptur 9: *E. C.* Vol. XII.

11. Sorab 152, *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 51, at Udri says that he was the son of one Baichappa Nāyaka, who was perhaps the same as Baichappa Danāyak of Bukka's reign. *Supra* footnote 6 to Ch. V.

12. This is the Kannada form of Kharebatam about 40 miles to the south-east of Ratnagiri. If this place had continued under Moslem rule, as detailed by its conquest by Allāudin Hassan Gangu, this war may be taken to be only the continuation of the late Bahamani war, (Heras: *QJMS* XIX, No. 1).

13. Hiriyoor 52; *E. C.* Vol. XI, page 185 at Somerahalli (Dharmapura hobli).

14. Sorab 152; *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 51, at Udri.

15. Chickanāyakanahalli 14 and 151; *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 124 at Dodda-Tekalavatta (Budihālu hobli).

16. A Sanskrit work on medicine *Vaidyavallabha* by Lakshmanā-chārya says that Bukka conquered the Andhra kings. If so, this campaign may have been fought against Orugallu. See *Mysore Archaeological Report* 1919, p. 53, Para. 126.

17. Chickanāyakanahalli 15: perhaps it is the same as the one about 20 miles north-west of Wārangal. *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 126, at Dodda-Tekalvatta (Budihālu hobli 1904).

18. There is a reference to him in 1386 A.D. and 1387 A.D. as ruling Goa Subramanya inscriptions (South Kanara) Sewell: *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 238.

19. Tiptur 44; *E. C.* Vol. 12, page 83 at Alburu Nonavinakare hobli. This fort is now called Rangna in Marathi and is about 40 miles to the north of Goa on the Kolhāpur—Sāvantawādi frontier. To establish that locality as Rangini see *Mārathi Riyāsat*, p. 256 where the name is given as Rangini and Rangini gad.

20. Perhaps Pratāpaghad near Mahābaleśwar. See Honnali 71; *E. C.* Vol VII, part I, page 305 at Surahonne (Belagutti hobli). One other Pratāpagir is noticed in *Sreesailam plates* but this would not be under Mādhava Rayā's jurisdiction.

21. Possibly the same as the Tal fort on the coast some 30 miles south of Bombay.

22. Parāsara Mādhaveeya has to be interpreted as the work compiled by a Mādhava of the *Parāsàra gotra* or son of a Parāśara. It is more a compilation than an independent work. It deals mostly with the subject of Hindu rituals and borrows from various sources including *Parāsara Smriti* and *Mādhava—Nidhana*, a medical work.

23. Mark Wilks: *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Second Edition Vol. II, p. 95 and *South Canara Manual* Vol. I, pp. 95-6.

24. By this statement it is evident that Vijayanagar had lost the Doab in the late war.

25. Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, p. 373 for details.

26. Nearly 400,000 lbs.

27. Grant-Duff: *History of the Mahrattas* (1926) Vol. I, p. 50.

28. Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, pp. 379-80. Though Ferista mentions this 'tribute' frequently it can only mean war indemnity to be paid in instalments

29. Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti; *E. C.* Vol. VII, page 256 at Haromuchchadi Agrahāra.

30. Thirthahalli 129; *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904), page 337 at Mukticihariharapura

31. This person is called Irugappa Dandanātha, minister of Harihara II in an inscription of date 1403, and is said to be ruling at Penukonda (Sira 9; *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 170 at Sibi Agrahāra (Sira hobli). He is the author of the Sanskrit work, *Nānārtharatnamāla*.

32. The person, Mādarasa Odeyar (C. 1392 A.D.) referred to in Sorab 181 *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 63 is perhaps identical with the one of Sorab 51 and 152 of C. 1380 A.D. and Mādhavāranya of Goa of Subramanya inscription of 1386-7 A.D. given in Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 238.

33. Sorab 116; *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 30 and 51 at Hire Avali and Udri where he is called '*Mantri Siromani*'; Sorab 152; *E. C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 30 and 51 at Hire Avali and Udri called him 'Mādhavarāya' and 'Mādhavanarapati'.

CHAPTER VII

VIRUPĀKSHA RĀYA I* (1404-5 A.D.)
September 1404—C. November 1404 A.D[1].
(September 1404[2]—C. July 1405)

Harihara II had many sons of whom five at least were grown up. These were Virupāksha, Bukka, Deva Rāya, Sadāsiva[3] and Rāmachandra[4]. Immediately after their father's death, a struggle for succession started among them[5]. Virupāksha succeeded for a time and ruled for a few months. All that we know about him is that he conquered and ruled Tonda, Chola[6] and Pāṇḍya countries and claimed to have planted a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon[7]. These conquests appear to have really happened during his father's reign though claimed by Virupāksha, when he administered Ginjee as governor in 1385-1386[8] A.D. and in 1396[9] A.D. He[10] is reputed to have been the author of a Sanskrit play called *Nārāyani Vilāsam*. South Indian inscriptions refer to him by the name of Veerappanna Odeyar.

* Some regard this ruler as an younger son of Harihara II and younger to Bukka II (Ed.)

NOTES

1. Thirthahalli 13: *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 298, at Araga. This is based upon Bukka II's earliest date after Virupaksha's reign, but is only tenta-ive.

2. Thirthahalli 13: *Ibid.*, p. 297. This is based upon Bukka II's earliest date after Virupaksha's reign, but must be considered a provisional date.

3. According to S. K. Aiyangar (*Sources*, *Op. Cit.* extract XI) Harihara had four sons, of whom Chikkarāya was Sadāsiva.

4. Could this Rāmachandra be the grandson? (*Vide Ibid.*)

5. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 224-226, No. 32 at Alampundi, a village in Senje (Gingee) division of the Tindivanam taluka of South Arcot.

6. Extract No. 15 from *Nārāyana Vilāsam* in S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, *Op. Cit.* p. 53.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *South Arcot Gazetteer* p. 35, and *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 224-6 at Alumpundi (South Arcot district).

9. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 49. Sewell quotes an inscription in *JBBRAS* IX p. 227, that Bachama was the Governor of Goa. Regarding Goa its conquest and Baichappa, the general. (See Heras, *QJMS*, p. 25).

10. S. K. Aiyangar by mistake refers this to Udayagiri Virupanna Odeyar, but we know that he was the son of Bukkarāya I and not of Harihara II. Nagar 34: and Thirthahalli 16: *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 248 at Kodugu and page 299 at Araga.

CHAPTER VIII

BUKKA RAYA II (1405-1406 A.D.)

C. July 1405[1]—September 1406[2] A.D.

Bukka, son of Harihara[3] by Pampā Devi[4], became king finally in 1405. But earlier he had competed for the throne with Virupāksha and even proclaimed himself king soon after Harihara's death[5]. He is variously called as Abhinava Bukka,[6] Immadi Bukka[7] and Pratāpa Bukka[8] in inscriptions. During his father's life time, he was for some years the governor of Mulbāgal province[9] and then of Penukonda[10].

Bukka reigned for a little more than a year. He appears to have been the patron of Lakshmanāchārya[11] who has written a Sanskrit work on medicine called *Vaidya Vallabha*. He had a queen by name Thippāmba and a son Bhupati[12]. The struggle for succession was again renewed at the end of 1406, this time the claimants being Devarāya Odeyar and Sadāsiva. Bukka was ousted[13] from the throne, his brother Devarāya usurping the imperial powers in September 1406[14]. Nothing more is known about Bukka till 1411[15] A.D. when he seems to have made another fruitless attempt to regain the throne. After this all trace of him is lost. Sadāsiva, however, continued the struggle with Devarāya.

NOTES

1. Thirthahalli 11, *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 297 at Araga, which so far gives the earliest date for Bukka II.

2. Bāgepalli 33, *E.C.* Vol. X, page 291 at Devikunte, and Hassan 133, *E.C.* Vol. V, Part I, page 84 at Handinakere, which gives Devarāya's earliest date.

3. Anekal 81, *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 145 at Bannerughatta and extract No. 16 in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, page 54. Also Francis Buchanan's *A Journey from Madras* etc., Vol. III, p. 170.

4. Koppa 25, *E.C.* Vol. VI, page 172 at Halamutturu.

5. Thirthahalli 11, *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904), page 297 at Araga.

6. Sorab 102, *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 26 at Hire-Āvali.

7. Bangalore 71, *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 18 at Ibbatur and Mulabāgal[11], *E.C.* Vol. X, page 85 and Bowringpet 17, page 166 at Rāyasandra (Rāmasāgara hobli) and Srinivāspur 54, page 349 at Tinnili (Srinivāsapur hobli).

8. Goribidanur 68, *E.C.* Vol. X, page 277 at Nāgaragere (Nāgaragere hobli)

9. Bowringpet 17, *E.C.* Vol. X, page 166 at Rāyasandra and Srinivāsapur. 54, *E.C.* Vol. X, page 349 at Tinnili.

10. Goribidanur 68, *E.C.* Vol. X, page 277 at Nāgaragere (Nāgaragere hobli).

11. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1919, p. 53, para 126.

12. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, extract No. 16, page 54.

13. Bāgepalli 33, (*Op. Cit.*), *E.C.* Vol. X, page 291 at Devikunte dated *Vyaya Āswija, Suddha* 10: Devarāya Odeyar was in permanent occupation of the kingdom (*Sthira-rājya*). Hassan 133, *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 84 at Handinakere, fixes Devarāya's coronation date as 5th November 1406.

14. Bāgepalli 33, *Op. Cit.*

15. Hoskote 149, *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 133 at Pattandur (Kādagodi hobli).

CHAPTER IX

DEVA RAYA I (1406-1422 A.D.)

(September 1406-July[1] 1422 A.D.)

Growing discontent—The Sixth Bahamani War 1406-1407 A.D.—Siege of Vijayanagar C. 1407 A.D.—Renewal of the succession dispute 1408 A.D.—The public works of Deva Rāya—The Seventh Bahamani War 1417-1419 A.D.—Notable persons in Deva Rāya's reign.

Deva Rāya succeeded to the throne in September 1406 A.D.[2], but his actual reign began from the day of his formal coronation on the fifth of November[3] in the same year. He was the son of Harihara by the queen Melāmbika[4] or Melādin. As a prince he was for sometime governor of the Udayagiri province[5], and had taken part in the Bahamani war under his father.

Growing discontent

We saw how from 1378 A.D. at the end of Bukka II's reign, the Vijayanagar kings had made repeated attempts to recover the Raichoor Doab. Even the war of 1398 A.D. during the reign of Harihara II had this as an objective. Although both these attempts failed, Harihara in 1401 A.D. took advantage of the great famine in the Bahamani kingdom and refused to pay for four years the tribute as settled by the treaty of 1399 A.D. Although enraged at this conduct of the Vijayanagar king, Feroz-Shah, aware of the enmity of his neighbours, did not press the Rāya then but waited for a more convenient opportunity to punish him. The disputed succession of Harihara followed by the internal troubles at Vijayanagara offered him causes enough to renew the old quarrel. Devarāya's personal indiscretion,[6] according to Feristā, brought matters to a head and hostilities soon began.

The Sixth Bahamani War 1406-1407

It so happened that there lived at Mudgal a beautiful girl named Pertal,[7] the daughter of a farmer.[8]* Deva Rāya desired to make her his wife, but on her refusal to the proposal, he determined to possess her by force. With this object in view, he arrived on the banks of Tungabhadrā with a large army, having first given out that he was going on a tour through his territories. From this place he despatched 5,000 of his best horses to proceed to Mudgal and fetch the girl by force. But forewarned of the approach of the cavalry, the girl's parents had fled from the place with the rest of the inhabitants. The disappointed cavalry returned homewards but on their way looted the country. They were attacked by superior Bahamani forces and 2,000 of them were killed. The trespass into Bahamani territory and the plundering of its subjects led to the sixth Bahamani War.

Siege of Vijayanagar C. 1407 A.D.

Feroz Shah moved out in the beginning of the winter of 1406 A.D. and arrived near Vijayanagar with a large force. Devarāya shut himself up inside the fort and defied the Sultan. Feroz invested the fort for four months and, according to Feristā, siezed some streets even; but he failed in the end to capture it. Meanwhile, Deva Rāya was not idle. His army often rallied forth and harassed the Bahamani troops. Thereupon, the invader changed his tactics and began revaging the country south of the Hindu capital. Also, he detached his forces to take the moffusil forts like Adoni and Bankāpura. Bankāpura was taken and the army returned from that quarter with 60,000 Hindu prisoners. Thereupon, Deva Rāya sued for peace which was granted but on very humiliating terms, namely, (1) The Rāya had to pay an indemnity of 10 lakhs of *Hoons*,[9] 5 maunds of pearls, 50 elephants and 2,000 slaves, (2) and lastly that Deva Rāya should give his daughter in marriage to Feroz Shāh. Deva Rāya had no alternative but to agree. After 40 days of entertainment the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence and the Sultan departed to his dominions. But though his marriage was arranged with the object of securing his future goodwill, discontent soon sprang up in

* This is based on Ferista's account. Some scholars regard this story as fictional (Ed.)

the mind of Feroz as a result of lack of proper etiquette on Deva Rāya's part. Even before the Sultan had left Vijayanagar hot words were exchanged between the father-in-law and the son-in-law and they parted as dreadful foes.

Renewal of the Succession Dispute 1408 A.D.

A year after this war, a new internal trouble presented itself to Deva Rāya. This was the renewal of the old succession dispute, and this time it was his brother prince, Sadāśiva. It is not possible to say definitely whether there was any war in this connection. All that is known is that about the middle of the year 1408 A.D., Sadāsiva had succeeded in his object so far as to seize Vijayanagar and proclaim himself emperor.[10] But his reign was short-lived, as Deva Rāya drove him out a month or two after and got himself permanently anointed[11] as the king.

The Public Works of Deva Rāya

The records of Feristā tell us that for some years after this war, there was comparative peace between the two neighbours, and Deva Rāya utilised the opportunity to carry out some works for the public good. In 1410 A.D. he directed his subordinate Bullappa to construct a barrage across the Tungabhadrā at Harihar. This greatly helped agriculture and increased the king's revenue. He also got dug an aqueduct 15 miles long from the Tungabhadrā to the capital, leading to beautiful gardens, orchards, groves, vineyards and plantations of lemons, oranges and roses around Vijayanagar. He greatly improved the city also, raising new walls and towers, increasing the city area and building further lines of fortification. In the execution of these improvements, he is said to have spent all his large inherited treasure.

The Seventh Bahamani War 1417-1419 A.D.

In the year 1417 A.D., a war commenced between Sultān Feroz Shah and the Rāja of Wārangal. Feroz besieged for two years the fort of Pangal,[12] which was under the control of the Rāja. But as disease broke out in the Bahamani camp, the Sultān failed to take the fort and was forced to retire with heavy losses. The king of Vijayangar took advantage of this favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the humiliation he had suffered in the war.

So following the Sultān, he overtook him and inflicted a crushing defeat. According to Feristā, treachery in the Bahamani camp was mainly responsible for this reverse. The result was that Deva Rāya made a general massacre of the Mussalmāns and created a platform with their heads on the battlefield. His army even followed the Sultān into his own country with fire and sword, capturing many places, breaking down mosques and holy places and slaughtering the people without mercy. If Nuniz can be trusted, the Hindu army continued its activities even into Konkan by capturing Chowl and Dabul. In utter helplessness Feroz sought the help of the Sultan of Gujārat, but as that monarch had just then ascended the throne, he was unable to render any assistance. These reverses killed Feroz. According to Mirat-i-Sikandari, Feroz Bahamani, king of the countries of the Deccan, had led an army against the infidels of Bijanagar and had been defeated. Between him and Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat there was a friendly and intimate alliance, and so the latter sent a large army to assist him. When this army reached the fort of Thallir, it found Sultan Feroz had died and his son Sultān Ahmad Shah Bahamani had succeeded him. Ahmad Shah sent some valuable presents to Sultan Ahmad of Gujarāt and sent back his army.

Notable persons in Deva Rāya's reign

Kriyasākti continued to live as royal preceptor*. Of the Jains, Abhayachandra Siddanta Deva was a famous religious man. Among the many ministers of this king, Mantriswara Jagannātha and his son Bu!!appa deserve our attention. Next to them were Mahāpradhāna Nāgappa[13] and Mahāpradhāna Mallappa Odeyar,[14] followed by Hariappa Odeyar, son of Mārappa Odeyar[15], and Somayya Odeyar, son of Muddaṇṇa Odeyar.[16] Vittaṇṇa Odeyar,[17] Irugappa Odeyar,[18] Veeraṇṇa Odeyar,[19] Obbala Rāya Odeyar, Virupa Dannāyaka,[20] Raichappa Dannāyaka,[21] were other high officers. Of literary men, prince Depa Rāja,[22] author of the Kannada work *Amaruka Śataka* and Mullaṇṇa the author of the Veeraśaiva work *Revanasiddeswara Kāvya* were well-known. It was to Devarāya's court that the gifted Telugu poet Srinātha, the author of *Naishadha*, *Haravilāsa* and many

* Compare, e.g., A. Venkatasubbaiah: (*QJMS* VIII, pp. 118-136) (Ed.)

other works, journeyed from the Reddy courts of Rājamundry and Kondaveedu, seeking recognition for his talents. Abhayachandra, a celebrated Jaina scholar, flourished about this reign.[23] The Kannada poet Madhura continued to live early in his reign, patronized by Lakshmidhara[24] or Lakshmananka Mantri a minister of Deva Rāya.

NOTES

1. Thirthahalli 14: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 298 at Araga, Chāmarājanagar 159: *E.C.* Vol. IV, page 34 at Maleyuru, *ibid* page 64 at Somahalli.

2. Bāgepalli 33: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 291 at Devikunte.

3. Hassan 133: *E.C.* Vol. 5, part I, page 84 at Handinakere.

4. Nagar 65: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 283 at Rāmachandrapura *Math:* and *Sree Sailam Plates.*

5. Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Op. Cit.* Vol. I, pages 99 and 126.

6. It is possible that Devarāya himself artificially created the causes for war in order to regain, if possible, the lost territories of the Doab.

7. Called also Netal and Nehal.

8. Some say goldsmith.

9. Roughly £ 50,000 or Rs 67,50,000.

10. Thirthahalli 142, 162 and 222: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 343 at Karadikodu, page 350, at Basavani and page 379 at Surali.

11. Mulbāgal 175: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 141 at Agara and Sorab 107: of 1409 *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 28 at Chatradahalli, in which Devarāya is called Bhujabala, which settles who the usurper was and when the assumption was completed.

12. About 50 miles east of Raichoor in the south of Hyderabad state. Bailey in his *History of Gujarat* gives 1422 A.D. for the Vijayanagar reaction. Bailey says in the footnote (*Ibid* page 10) that 1432 A.D. above is an error by 10 years and says Ferista's 1422 A.D. is correct as this is verified by coins, and that Ahmed Shah Bahamani was the brother and not the son of Feroz Shah.

13. He is called Amāthyashekara in 1410 A.D. (Dāvangere 23: *E.C.* Vol. II, page 50 at Harihar). He must be the same as Mahāpradhānā Nāganna Odeyar of 1417 A.D. (Kolar 83: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 24, at Madivala). Whose estate was in Mulbagal (Mulbagal 7: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 84 in Mulbagal).

14. This person is noticed as the younger brother of Bāchanna Odeyar, and ruling Gutti (Chandragutti) fort in 1420 A.D. (Shikarpur 288: *E.C.* Vol. 6, Part I page 259 at Mugulagere). Koppa 7: (*E.C.* Vol. 6, page 167 at Balahalli) of 1412 A.D. also refers to him.

15. This person appears to be living in 1412 A.D. and ruling over Araga province at that time. (Shikārpur 313: *E.C.* Vol. 7, Part I, page 268 at Goddanakoppa. The date of the inscription is 1390 A.D.).

16. Sira 101, *E.C.* Vol. 12, page 171 at Hunjinalu, where he is referred to as ruling over Sira locality in C. 1407 A.D.

17. Shimoga 70 *E.C.* Vol. 7, part I, page 53 at Kudli. This person is called Vitala Manthri Mouli in Thirthahalli 104: *E.C.* Vol. VIII (1904) page 330, at Virupapura.

18. Shikārpur, 37, page 94 *E.C.* Vol. VII *Op. Cit.* Perhaps this man is the same as the one of that name under Harihara II.

19. One Veerappa Odeyar was ruling over Moodagere locality in C. 1410 A.D. Moodagere 85: *E.C.* Vol. 6, page 163 at Totlu. This appears to be another form of the name, Veeranna Odeyar, Koppa 52: *E.C.* Vol. 6, page 188. Bommalapura of 1403 A.D. notices one Veeranna Odeyar ruling over Araga: Koppa 26: *E.C.* Vol. 6, page 173 at Bhandigade.

20. Shikarpur 37: of 1417 A.D. *E.C.* Vol. 7, part I, page 94 at Hire Haraka.

21. Ruling over Kolār locality in 1417 A.D. Kolār 83: *E.C.* Vol. X, page 24 at Madivāla.

22. This man appears to have been the son of Kampa, son of Bukka I.

23. Sorab 329: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 119 at Bhararigi.

24. *Archaeological Survey of India Memoir* 13: p. 15.

CHAPTER X

VIRA BUKKA RAYA III (July 1422-1423 A.D.)

Vira Bukka Rāya III, called in inscriptions as Vira Vijaya Rāya,[1] Vijaya Bukka Rāya[2] and Pratāpa Bukka,[3] was the son of Devarāya I by his queen Hemāmbika.[4] Before he became king, he was the Viceroy at Mulbāgal in 1408[5] A.D. and perhaps governed Ginjee province also about 1418 A.D. As king, he ruled for a few months[6] only, being soon succeeded by his son Devarāya II. A daughter of this king was married to Sāluva Thippa Rāya, the ancestor of the future Sāluva Narasimha. Vira Bukka is said to have been as charitable as Bhoja,[7] and a great scholar[8] as well as a great patron of letters. Little more of importance is known about him.

NOTES

1. Thirthahalli 200 and 206, *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 370 at Tuduru and page 374 at Tirthahalli and page 286; also Shikāripura 40 and 83 and Sidalghatta 1 *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 216 at Gollahaḷḷi and Nagar 69, *E.C.* Vol. VIII page 370 at Tuduru.

2. Kolār 78, *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 22; Sorab 461, *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 154 at Bennuru; Kunigal 18, *E.C.* Vol. 12, page 56; Devanahalli 81, *E.C.* Vol. 9, page 106 at Sādāhalli and Devanagere 29, *E.C.* Vol. 11, page 61 at Harihar.

3. Davanagere 29, *E.C.* Vol. 11, page 61 at Harihar.

4. Sidalghatta 94, *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 235 at Sadali; Goribidanur 56, *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 275 at Kadalaveni, calls her Gourāmbika, but Nagar 65, *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 283 and *Sree Sailam Plates* call her Dewāmbika.

5. Mulbāgal 175 *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 141, at Agara.

6. See Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 404, But Nuniz mentions six years, which, if correct, must include his provincial viceroyalty also. Moodagere 46, of 1423 A.D. is one of the last inscriptions of this king.

7. *Mysore Archaelogical Report* for 1916, page 61, para 100.

8. *Ibid.*, and also Sidalghatta 94, *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 235 at Sadali.

CHAPTER XI

DEVA RAYA II (1423-1446 A.D.)*
1423[1] to May 1446 A.D.

The Eighth Bahamani War 1423—Siege of Vijayanagar—Vijayanagar, an asylum for varied activities—Religious controversies—King embraces Vira Śaivism—The Ninth Bahamani War 1435 A.D.—Army reforms—An attempt on the king's life C. 1443 A.D.—The Tenth Bahamani War 1442 A.D.—The Battle of Mudgal—Abdur-Razzak visits Vijayanagar 1443 A.D.—Deva Rāya's court.

After Bukka III, his son,[2] Devarāya II by his queen Nārāyaṇāmbikā,[3] was crowned king of Vijayanagar. This king was also called *Proudha*[4] or the great Devarāya by his subjects. As his reign was of great magnificence, the common people believed that he was the incarnation of Indra, the celestial ruler of Hindu mythology.

The Eighth Bahamani War 1423

We saw in the last chapter, how Devarāya I humbled Feroz Shah Bahamani and how the latter died of a broken heart. But this victory was, according to Ferista, of a temporary character. The accession of Ahmad Shah as sultan at Gulburgā soon changed the tide of war. In revenge for the havoc done by Devarāya I, he declared a new war on Vijayanagar and marched southwards with his army. Devarāya had no other alternative but to accept the challenge. As usual with the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, he revived the alliance with the king of Wārangal and moved out with his own troops to the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Here he encamped waiting for the enemy. Soon after, Ahmad Shah also arrived on the north bank of the river, where he camped opposite the Hindu army. Devarāya's instructions to his army were to

*Compare B. V. Srinivasa: On the Later Rulers of the Sangama Dynasty of the Vijayanagar Empire 1419-86 (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, XXIV, 1956-58) (Ed).

prevent the Mussalmān troops from crossing the river. But in spite of precautions, after 40 days, the Sultān's troops crossed it at a distance and by a fortunate accident[5] made Devarāya a prisoner. When this news got abroad, the Vijayanagar force lost heart and began a hasty retreat. Devarāya, however, soon escaped and rejoined his forces, and the scattered forces rallied and order was again restored.

But as his Wārangal allies had already deserted him and also as he considered his recent capture unlucky, Devarāya laid aside his original plan of engaging the Mussalmāns in the field and retreated to Vijayangar. Being thus disengaged, Ahmed Shah set himself first to overrun the open country. In the execution of this policy, he broke the temples and destroyed the villages. He laid aside all humanity, and wherever be went, he massacred men, women and children without mercy contrary to the compact made previously by Mahamad Shah Bahamani. Whenever the number of the slain amounted to 20,000 he halted for three days and made a festival in celebration of his bloody work. Exasperated with this insult to their religion, a body of 5,000 Hindus took an oath to assassinate him at the first favourable opportunity. Thus determined, they lay in wait. Once the Sultān having gone on hunt 12 miles from his camp, somehow got himself separated from his companions. This favourable opportunity the waiting band of Hindus took advantage of and pounced upon him. Ahmed Shah and his 500 Moghal followers retired to a mud-enclosure close by and defended themselves as best they could for sometime. When the pressing Hindus were about to overpower them, luckily the Sultān's first armour-bearer, Abd-l-Khader came to his master's rescue with a body of troops. Soon a general struggle ensued between both parties in which, according to Feristā, the Hindus were beaten and driven out of the field with the loss of 1,000 men, the Mussalmān losses being about 500 men.

Siege of Vijayanagar

After this event, the Sultan marched on Vijayanagar and laid siege. As a result, the citizens of the capital were reduced to the greatest distress, and Devarāya sued for peace. The Sultān agreed to this on condition that he consented to pay the tribute of as many years as he had neglected and this, laden on his best elephants and conducted by his son with drums, trumpets, and

all the insignia of State to the Bahamani camp. Devarāya agreed to this demand and sent his son with 30 favourite elephants laden with treasure. The Sultān raised the siege and left Vijayanagar accompanied by Devarāya's son. After his arrival on the banks of the Krishna, he sent the Rāya's son back, himself proceeding to Gulbarga. But though the actual war was over, its effects could not be controlled. Rains failed in 1423 A.D. and there was a grievous famine throughout the Deccan and Karnātaka, and multitudes of cattle died from want of water. In 1424 A.D. there was again a failure of rains and both the combatant countries greatly suffered.

Vijayanagar, an asylum for varied activities

In spite of these setbacks, Vijayanagar soon recovered its strength making Devarāya's reign memorable in other directions. The long years of peace that followed this war stirred the literary and religious talents of the people of the Empire, as nothing else had done for half a century before. The sanctity of holy Hampi, the attractions of the imperial city and, more than all, the extraordinary earnestness of the king in literary and religious matters attracted a multitude of gifted men from far and near. There were scholars and saints among them; and while the former tried to convince the learned, the latter attempted to influence the masses. After Vedānta Desika, Ahobala Mahāmuni and the first Sathakopa Swāmi of the Ahobila *mutt* continued to carry their *Vaishnava* propaganda in the Tamil country mostly around Sreerangam and Kānchi, while, nearer home, the Veeraśaiva saints, Kumāra Bankanātha Veeraṇṇa Odeyar and Bettadeswara, were attempting miracles to convince Deva Rāya of the superiority of their creed. The gifted poet, Sreenātha, the author of the Telugu *Naishada* and a dozen other works, journeyed from the Reddy courts of Rājamandry and Kondaveedu seeking recognition for his talents. The great Vidyāranya was long dead and there was none equally gifted to take his place in the court. Gradually the *smārtha* beliefs of the ruling house inclined more and more towards *āgamic* Śaivism as preached by Kriyāśaktis, Rudraśaktis and Vāmaśaktis in the last years of Harihara II and throughout Devarāya I's rule. In this king's reign, the shift towards *saiva* doctrine was more marked.

Religious controversies

Devarāya II was a free thinker in religious matters. This was enough encouragement for the contending sects of his day. The *Jains*, the *Vaishnavās* and the *Veeraśaivās* each tried to secure the monopoly of the royal favour. The king listened equally to all. Debates and discussions were the order of the day. Nemichandra fought hard before the court scholars to establish the supremacy of his creed. But, though he claims success for himself,[6] the Jaina doctrines had long spent their force and consequently made little impression on the king. Of the *Vaishnavas*, the *Mādvas* could not yet put able men to the forefront. Thus, the real trial of strength was between the Rāmānuja *Vaishṇavas* known as *Srivaishṇavas* and *Veeraśaivas*.

But though the struggle is interesting in ways more than one, it was unequal in organization and representation. The Veeraśaivas fought on their own ground with an overwhelming advantage of tradition, language and resources behind them. Besides the applause of the multitude, they had the active support of two powerful courtiers, Jakkaṇṇa, the minister, and Lakkaṇṇa, the general of Deva Rāya. By their zeal and munificence, these two men had drawn together every available Veeraśaiva poet, scholar and saint to Vijayanagar. There was Prabhu Deva, the author of *Linga-Leela-Vilāsā Charitre*, the mighty disputant Māyi-Deva, the writer of *Anubhava-Sutra* and *Prabhu Geeta*, Gurubasava, the author of *Saivayogānga-Bhushana*, and *Vrishabha Geeta*. With tha help of these and others, the country was flooded with abundance of Veeraśaiva literature in Kannada, the language of the region. The *Sreevaishnavas* were handicapped in every way. They had neither the financial resources nor a sufficient Vaishnava literature in Kannada. Their abler men were engaged in securing a position for their faith at Kānchi and Srirangam. Therefore, their only representative at the Vijayanagar court was Kandādai Mukunda Doddayyāchārya, the priest of Deva Rāya. This man did what he could under the circumstances. He had arranged for a daily recital of the Vaishnava epic, Mahābhārata, before the king. For nine months he carried on its reading, taking it in triumphal procession round Vijayanagar every fortnight. Being greatly impressed by its subject matter, Deva Rāya directed his two court posts, Kumāra Vyāsa and Chāmarasa, to translate it into the vernacular, and when the former completed the work,

the king had even settled to honour him with a 'gold bath'.* This was too much for the *Veeraśaivas*. As a counterblast to the *Vaishnavas*, Jakkaṇṇa and his followers carried through the streets of the capital the wooden sandles of their Guru Kumāra Bankanātha. When Jakkaṇṇa returned to the court, naturally a controversy took place between him and Doddappāchārya. Jakkaṇṇa requested the king to grant him a month's time in order to prove the superiority of the *Veeraśaiva* creed. Chāmarāsa, who failing to secure the king's reward, had now turned a Lingayat, started composing a *sāiva* work called *Prabhu-Linga-Leela* that might throw into shade Kumāra Vyāsa's *Mahābhāratha*.

The King embraces Veeraśaivism

Meanwhile, Jakkaṇṇa had set himself to the task of winning the king's mind to his faith by a daily and hourly recital and explanation of its doctrines. At the end of the appointed time, the parties once again met in court eager for a final settlement of their dispute. The *Veerasaiva* accounts tell us that after a careful comparison of the two works, the court scholars finally decided in favour of *Prabhu-Linga-Leelā*. Accordingly, the king cancelled his former proposal of honouring Kumāra Vyāsa and showered all titles and gifts on Chāmarasa. He granted him five villages[7] and made him his minister. The *Prabhu-Linga-Leelā* was carried round Vijayanagar on an elephant. Moved by Jakkaṇṇa's appeal, he went even further by showing his admiration for Chāmarasa by consenting for a baptism from his hands. Thus, the triumph of *Veerasaivism* was complete. Doddayyāchārya shared the humiliation with Kumāra Vyāsa and retired from the Vijayanagar court.

The Ninth Bahamani War 1435 A.D.

While matters were proceeding at Vijayanagar as related in the last para, war clouds again appeared on the horizon. In C. 1435 A.D., soon after his accession, All-ood-din Shah Behamani II picked up a quarrel with Deva Rāya. The causes for this, as given out by him, were that the Rāya had withheld to pay the

* The conflict between Chāmarasa and Kumāra Vyāsa is based largely on literary sources. Latterly, this conflict is being doubted (Ed.)

arrears. Accordingly, a powerful army was fitted out[8] under the Sultān's brother, prince Mahamad Khan, and two officers Khanja Jahan[9] and Imad-ool-Mool-Choory. The army, as it advanced, laid waste the Vijayanagar country and committed great devastation. According to Feristā, the Rāya had no alternative left but to sue for peace. This the Sultān granted, in return for twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing besides valuable presents made to prince Mahamad Khān.

Army reforms

These repeated Hindu reverses, sometimes at the hands of a disproportionately small number of Mussalmāns, set Devarāya thinking that there was something wrong with his army organization. He, therefore, held council with his ministers and generals and soon discovered that the failure of his soldiers were chiefly due to their inferior horses and deficiency in the skill of good archery. To remedy this, he at once set on foot new reforms. He gave orders for the entertainment of Mussalmāns in his service, allotted them *jahagirs*, created a mosque for their use in Vijayanagar and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. In order to respect their scruples, he went even so far as permitting a *Koran* to be placed before his throne on a rich desk so that they might perform their obeisance to him without sinning against the Mussalmān law. He also made all the Hindu soldiers learn the discipline of the bow. He had at one time 2,000 Mussalmāns[10] and 60,000 Hindus well skilled in archery, besides 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.[11]

An Attempt on the King's life—C. 1443 A.D.

Sometime after the above events, an incident of considerable magnitude happened at Vijayanagar. A brother[12] of the king, jealous of him and perhaps aiming at the kingship, hatched up a plot to murder him. Under the pretext of feeding guests on the occasion of his building a new house, he invited the important officers of State, who were the king's partisans. On their arrival one by one was despatched by specially appointed assassins. After this he rushed to the palace and meeting his brother, the king,

struck him many violent blows with his poniard. When Deva Rāya fell down, believing that he was dead, this man went to the portico of the palace and proclaimed himself as the new king before the assembled multitude. Luckily the king, being only severely hurt and not dead, soon arrived on the spot. When he presented himself to his people, they seized the assassin and put him to death. After this Deva Rāya took his vengence on all those who had sided the murderer in this nefarious conspiracy. He ordered them to be caught and put them and their families to death with very horrible tortures.

The Tenth Bahamani War 1443 A.D.

When this news reached Gulbarga, there was naturally great jubilation among the Mussalmāns. Sultan Alla-ud-din, who was then the ruler, thought that a favourable opportunity had occurred to crush Vijayanagar. An excuse was soon found and a message was sent to Deva Rāya demanding the usual payment of tribute money then amounting to 7 lakhs of *varāhas*[13]. Deva Rāya, irritated at this demand, sent a brave answer and prepared for war. His plan was to take the offensive himself[14], and try, if possible, to recover the Raichoor Doab which had been lost in a previous war. Accordingly, sending his two sons to capture Raichoor and Bankāpur, himself crossed the Tungabhadrā and suddenly took the fortress of Mudgal. After this, he marched to the banks of the Krishnā, where he encamped. From there he sent out detachments to plunder the enemy country. This they did successfully by carrying fire and sword, laying waste everything as far as Sāgar[15] and Bijāpur[16]. Hearing this the Sultan Alla-ud-din marched with an army of 50,000 horses and 60,000 foot and a considerable train of artillery. On his approach, Deva Rāya changed his tactics by shifting his ground and retiring to Mudgal under whose walls he again encamped. Then he detached a large portion of his army to harass the sultan who had halted at a distance of 12 miles from Mudgal. From this place he sent his officers to engage Deva Rāya and his two sons who were besieging Raichoor and Bankāpur. In one of these minor battles, Deva Rāya's eldest son was wounded and driven out from Raichoor. Soon his other son also had to raise the siege of Bankāpur and retire.

Battle of Mudgal

The two main armies next met at Mudgal. Between them 3 big battles were fought in the course of two months. As usual, in the first fight the Vijayanagar army was greatly successful and the Mussalmāns suffered a great deal. But in the others the Sultan was victorious. In the last fight the eldest son of Deva Rāya was killed and the Hindu army fled panic-striken into the fortress of Mudgal. Deva Rāya saw that nothing better could be done under the circumstances but to sue for peace. This was granted on the following conditions, namely, that (1) the Rāya should pay the stipulated tribute annually and (2) return all prisoners taken. In return the Sultan vowed himself never again to molest Deva Rāya's territories.

Abdur Razzak visits Vijayanagar 1443 A.D.

Shortly after this war, the famous Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, visited Vijayanagar. He was welcomed with great honour by the king. Abdur Razzak had an interview with Deva Rāya[17] and was greatly impressed with all he saw. He writes of Vijayanagar thus—'The king's dominion extends from the frontier of Serindib[18] to the extremities of the country of Kulburgah . . . The Empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into extensive details. . . The troops amount in number to 11 lakhs. . . The city of Bidjanagar[19] is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. . . The distance between the opposite gates of the outer fortress north and south is two *parasangs*[20] and the same, east and west. The space which separates the first fortress from the second up to the third fortress is filled with cultivated fields and with houses and gardens. In the space from the third to the seventh, one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops and bazaars. . . . The seventh fortress is to the north and contains the palace of the king, with nine[21] pavillions magnificently ornamented. In the ninth, the king's throne is set up. . . In the king's palace are several cells like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass. . . By the king's palace are four bazaars placed opposite

to each other... The bazaars are extremely long and broad... Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery... The jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds... Roses are sold everywhere. These people could not live without roses, and they look upon them quite as necessary as food... In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. It is of extraordinary size made of gold and enriched with precious stones of extreme value... The roof and the walls [of the throne room] are entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious stones. Each of these plates is as thick as the blade of a sword and is fettered with golden nails'.

According to Nuniz[22], 'this king determined to collect great treasures but owing to constant warfare, he could not gain more than 85 crores[23] worth of gold, not counting precious stones. This was no great sum, as, at this time, the kings of Coullao Ceyllc, and Puleacate, and Pegu, Tonacary and many other countries paid tribute to him'.

Nicholo-de-Conti[24] records that 'the great city of Bizengalia [Vijayanagar] is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles... Its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city are estimated to be 90,000 men fit to bear arms... Their king is more powerful than all other kings in India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horse back. The remainder are carried by men in litters of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves which is considered to be a great honour for them[25].'

Deva Rāya's court etc.

Deva Rāya's reign marks the golden age of the first dynasty. There was a plentiful supply of men of light, both at the capital and elsewhere in the Empire. Of Kannada poets Kumāra Vyāsa, the author of Kannada *Bhārata* and Chāmarasa[26], the author of *Prabhu Linga Leela*, were his court poets. Chandrasekhara[27]

wrote his *Virupāksha Sthāna* and *Gurumurthy Sankara Sataka;* Battāleswara his *Ramāyaṇa* and *Nitisāra;* Kalyāṇa Keerthi, a Jaina poet at the court of the Tulu king Pāndya Rāya, his *Ghana Chandrābhyudaya*, *Tatwa Bhedāshtaka* and other works. Among the Telugu authors of the day, the most distinguished were Bommera Pota Rāju and Srināthа. Pota Rāju was the author of Telugu *Bhārata* and *Bhogini Dandakamu* while Srinātha wrote *Naishadhamu* and other works. Jakkaṇṇa, another author, wrote his *Vikramānka Charitramu*, and Vallabharāya, the king's *Premābhiramamu* under the name of *Kridābhirāmamu.* Of Sanskrit authors, Gangādhara, the court poet, was well known. Saluva-Thipparāja, son of Sāluva Goparāja of Tekal, wrote a commentary on *Kavyālankāra Sutra* of Vāmana and a book on music *Tāla Deepika;* and Kallinātha, a commentary on *Sangita Ratnākara.*

Of Deva Rāya's ministers, Siddhaṇṇa and his son, Jannana Jakkaṇṇa, and Chāmayya held a prominent position. Of military men Sakkaṇṇa Danāyak[28], regarded as the source of Deva Rāya's, prosperity, Sāluva Goparāja, as the king's right hand man, and Triambaka Deva Arasu as the strength of the king's arm, were the most distinguished. Besides these, Mādanna Danāyak Perumale Deva Danāyak, Pradhāna Irugappa Odeyar[29], Pradhāna Mallarasa Odeyar, Rāyanna Odeyar, Srigiri Nātha Odeyar and Annappa Odeyar were important.

NOTES

1. Davanagere 29, at Harihar, *E.C.* XI, p. 61.

2. Thirthahalli 206: *E.C.* Vol. 8. Kunigal 18: *E.C.* Vol. 12, page 56, Davanagere 29: *E.C.* Vol. 11, page 61, Mulbāgal 96: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 119, Bowringpet 72: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 182, Mālur 4: *E.C.* Vol. 10, page 187.

3. Nagar 65: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 283 at Taduru, Thirthahalli 200: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 370 at Taduru and also *Sree Sailam Plates.*

4. Tumkur 11 and 36: *E.C.* Vol. 12, pages 12, and 20 at Jodihalena-halli.

5. Briggs: *History of the Rise of Mohamedan Power in India*, Vol. II, pp. 401-402 for details.

6. R. Narasimhāchārya: *Karnātaka Kavi Charite*, Vol. II, pp. 128-9.

7. Kunigal 18: *E.C.* Vol. 12, page 56 at Ujani notes the gift of a *sarva-mānya* village to one Chāmarasa by some local ryots. But it is not known if he is identical with the above.

8. Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 422.

9. The first person of this name died in Feroz Shah's reign.

10. Elsewhere it is said that he had 10,000 Trushka horsemen under him. Sreerangapatna 15: *E.C.* Vol. 3, part I, page 24.

11. Scott, *Ferista* I: *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, pp. 431-432, p. 118; Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 72.

12. According to Nuniz he was a nephew. Nuniz's Chronicle, *Op. Cit.* p. 290.

13. 7 lakhs of *varāhas* would be roughly 20 lakhs in modern Indian currency.

14. This is Abdul Razzak's account. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, page 432, says that Deva Rāya himself wantonly attacked the Bahamani Kingdom.

15. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, page 432.

16. Called Bunkāpoor by Ferista.

17. There is some doubt as to who exactly he visited.

18. Ceylon.

19. Vidyānagar or Vijayanagar.

20. 7 miles.

21. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

23. This must evidently be *varches*, then current, which, in modern currency would give about 222 crores of rupees.

24. He was a Venetian traveller and was in India sometime between 1420 A.D. and 1444 A.D.

25. *India in the IV Century*, p. 68.

26. Davangere 29 of 1424 A.D. (*E.C.* Vol. 11, page 62 at Harihar) notices one Chāmanrupa or Chāmarāja, but whether he is the same as the one above is doubtful.

27. This must be the same one as Chandra Sekhara Kriyāsakti or Chandrabhushana whom the poet Srinātha claims to have beaten in argument.

28. He is reputed to be the author of the Kannada work called *Siva Tatwa Chintāmani*, but the real author, Lakkanna Odeyar, was the King's general and governor of the Mulbāgal province. *M.A.R.* 1919—para 88, page 34. (The date of the inscription may be about 1430 A.D.) Inscription at Vagatā.

29. He has written a Sanskrit work called *Wanarāthe Rathnamālā*.

CHAPTER XII

VIRA DEVA RĀYA III (1446-1447 A.D.)
(C. 1446 May—September 1447 A.D.)

Struggle for succession—

After Deva Rāya II's death, his younger brother, Deva Rāya[1], also called Vijaya Deva Rāya or Vijaya Rāya*, ruled for a short time[2].

The death of Deva Rāya III seems to have revived another struggle for succession. He had a son named Virupāksha who, in the natural course, aspired to succeed him. But Deva Rāya's another son, Mallikārjuna, who was then governing Shimoga district, was the last to forego his claims to the throne, which had been his by right since the death of his father. Virupāksha succeeded for a time in proclaiming himself sovereign and assuming full imperial titles[3]. But very soon Mallikārjuna secured the upper hand and drove his rival out of the country[4].

* Generally Pratāpadeva, younger brother of Deva Rāya II. is referred to as Vijaya Rāya II and Mallikārjuna as Deva Rāya III (Ed.)

NOTES

1. See *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1921, pp. 20-30 particularly p. 30, para 63 for the identification of this king. *Sree Sailam Plates* refer to the father of Virupāksha as Pratāpa Rāya, son of Vijaya. It is possible that there was another son elder to Vijaya by queen Nārāyanāmbika.

2. *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, p. 83.

3. Devanahalli 38, *E. C.* Vol. IX, page 97 (1905) at Dharmapura.

4. *Prapannāmritam, sarga* 123, in extract No. 27 in S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, page 73.

CHAPTER XIII

VIRA MALLIKĀRJUNA RĀYA* (1447[1]-1465[2] A.D.)

The Decline of the First Dynasty—The Eleventh Bahamani War, C. 1449 A.D.-Loss of Choul and Dadhol C. 1453 A.D.—The Kānchi-Kāveri invasion, C. 1458 A.D.—The *coup-de-etat* of 1459 A.D.—The Decline of Sangama power—Virupāksha's usurpation.

The Decline of the First Dynasty

Mallikārjuna, son of Deva Rāya II by his wife Ponnalāmbika or Ponnalā Devi[3], became king after the death of his uncle, Deva Rāya III. He was called Deva Rāya[4], Pratāpa Deva Rāya[5], Immadi Deva Rāya[6], Proudha Deva Rāya[7] and Immadi Proudha[8]. It is said that he was named Mallikārjuna, because of the fact that at the time of his birth his parents were camping at Srigiri or Srisaila, sacred to God Mallikārjuna[9]. He appears to have, succeeded to the throne of his father after some sort of struggle for it[10].

The Eleventh Bahamani War C. 1449 A.D.

We have seen how at the close of Deva Rāya II's reign, the Bahamani king, taking advantage of the internal troubles of Vijayanagar, had made an attempt at invasion. Although the calamity was then averted by the Rāya's promptitude, it could not for long be kept out of the way. After Deva Rāya's death, learning that his successor Mallikārjuna was young and inexperienced, the Bahamani king prepared himself for war, 'in order to wipe off the disgrace of former defeats'. With this end in view he sought the alliance of the powerful Gajapati sovereign of Orissa[11]. That king who had his own ambitious scheme of expansion in the *Sircārs* and the Coromandal coast welcomed this invitation and joined hands with a Mussalmān against a fellow Hindu ruler. In a short time the allies arrived before the walls of Vijayanagar[12]

* Compare B. V. Srinivasa Rao, 'King Mallikārjuna 1447-1467' (JHR XII (2) 1973, pp. 31-32) (Ed.)

with a vast host of horse, foot and elephants. In the beginning Mallikārjuna was forced to take the defensive and stand a siege. But he soon sallied out of the fort, engaged his foes in an open battle and drove them back to their kingdoms[13].

Loss of Choul and Dabhol C. 1453 A.D.

Though in the late war, Mallikārjuna had the advantage on his side, it meant nothing more than saving the capital from total destruction. For some years past the hold of the Empire over the distant provinces, especially in the north-west and north-east, had been growing weaker. In the Konkaṇ the Marātha feudataries[14] had again grown turbulent. This made it evident that the Vijayanagar king could neither improve matters nor prevent his enemies from interfering in the local affairs. Coming to know of this, the Bahamani king planned a campaign for the conquest of Konkan and sent his general, Mallik-ul-Tujar, with a large army in 1453 A.D. Tujar fixed his headquarters at Junnar and sent out detachments to reduce the low country, and in a short time they overpowered many of the petty chiefs. Soon after Choul Dābhoḷ also fell into Mussalmān hands. Encouraged by these successes the Bahamani general personally moved down in great force. But his progress was brought to a sudden end close to Vishālghad, where, as a result of the treachery of one of the chiefs of the Shirke family, he and his whole army of 7,000 men were mercilessly massacred[15]. This disaster cut off all further progress of Mussalmān arms in the Konkan for many more years to come. But the coastal fortresses including Choul and Dābhol[16] were finally lost to Vijayanagar.

The Kānchi-Kāvery Invasion

Scarcely had six years passed since the loss of Choul and Dābhoḷ than Vijayanagar was forced to make a further sacrifice of territory. This time it was in the north-east. The *Circars* and Telingaṇa across the frontier had drifted into a sort of anarchy ever since the disappearance of the Reddy kingdoms* of Kondaveedu and Rājamandry. Taking advantage of this, Humayun, the cruel king of Bidar, laid siege to Devarkonda in 1457 A.D. In

* Compare R. S. Sharma : *The History of the Reddy Kingdoms* (Waltair 1947) (Ed.)

this expedition the Mussalmāns committed all manner of excesses Unable to hear their cruelties, the oppressed Hindus appealed to the king of Orissa for help. Being then 'the chief of Hindus of that country' and inspired by both private ambition and religious sympathy, he readily agreed to assist them.

While these events were happening to the north of the Krishnā Mallikārjuna's incapacity had allowed his subordinates, the Sāluvas, to grow in power and prestige every year. At this time the various branches of this family were practically masters of Kolār, Chittoor, and parts of at least Cudappā and North Arcot districts. There is little doubt that their growing ambitions especially of Narasinga of Chandragiri[17], brought about a conflict of interests on the Nellore frontier. This was enough for Kapileswara Gajapathi who was long waiting to make up his defeats in the previous war with Vijayanagar. Accordingly, in C. 1458[18] A.D he fitted out an expedition under his famous general, Gopinātha Mahāpātra, ostensibly to punish Sāluva Narasinga, but really to plunder and annex the territories of Vijayanagar. With this object in view, the Oriya general marched south along the Coromandal coast carrying fire and sword wherever he went. Kānchi was soon taken and shortly after the Kāvery also was reached. This was, indeed, a great triumph for a northern monarch. In memory of this extraordinary achievement, Kapileswara Gajapati assumed the title of 'Kānchi-Kāvery Pati' or 'Lord of Kānchi and Kāvery'.* The terror which this invasion caused the people of the affected districts was long remembered as the Oddiyan—Kalapam or 'The Scourge of the Oddiyan'. Although there is no evidence at present available, this expedition appears to have left the king of Orissa master of a great part of the Coromāndal coast.

The Coup-de-etat of 1459 A.D.

If anything was required to set a seal to the utter incapacity of Mallikārjuna, the Kānchi-Kāvery expedition was enough Beyond moving out to Penukonda in 1459 A.D., perhaps to watch the turn of events, Mallikārjuna was able to do nothing either to protect his vassal or his own subjects. So, as a kinsman of the

* Hammira, son of Kapileswara, appears to have played a major role in this expedition (Ed.)

king, Narasinga felt that, unless some improvement was effected in the existing conditions of the day, both himself and the Empire would have to face a worse catastrophy from which none could recover. It was, therefore, settled to take over the supreme executive power and thoroughly overhaul the central administration. Accordingly, a *coup-de-etat* was carried out in 1459 A.D. with as much consideration as possible for the feelings of the sovereign. This was done by sending away Mallikārjuna for a time to Penukonda but allowing him to continue the dignity and forms of Royalty. An agent of Narasinga, by name Tirumalai-anna-Dalapa, was left at the headquarters to rule in the name of the king, but actually according to the orders of Narasinga.

The Decline of the Sangama Power

This was an eventful change in the fortunes of both the Sangama and the Sāluva Houses. It showed clearly that the sun of the Sangama House was on the decline and that of the Sāluvas in the ascendant. Although the formal usurpation was yet far off, the imperial powers had definitely passed into the hands of Narasinga and he was a king all but in name. From this time onward, both he and his elder brother, Tirumala Rājayya Deva, styled themselves Mahārājas and many public activities were done in their name. Mallikārjuna, however, continued to drag on with the empty titles of an Emperor during the remaining six years of his life, unmolested but uncared for by any. Only one ray of joy crossed this period of his life, and that was the birth of a son to him in 1463 A.D.[19] Pious and charitable by nature, a patron of letters and himself an author of some works of repute[20] his last years were a sad commentary on a reign begun under very auspicious circumstances.

Virupāksha's usurpation

Mallikārjuna appears to have been succeeded by a son of his called Rāmachandra. But Virupāksha, the rival claimant, was not idle. Having secretly collected some troops he marched on the capital from his place of refuge and having murdered all his enemies, while asleep in the palace at Vijayanagar, ascended the throne, which he had earlier lost. There is little doubt that the reigning son of Mallikārjuna was one among the murdered.

NOTES

1. Shikarpur 239 of 1447 A.D.: *E.C.* Vol. VII, Part I, p. 243 at Bandalike.

2. The Trivambākapura Copperplates of Mallikārjuna record the grant of a village to Brahmans, by his father recently at the date of the grant (He died in or about 1446 A.D.) *Mysore Archaeological Report:* 1907-1908, para 61.

3. Nagar 65: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, p. 283 at Rāmachandrapura Math. He had another queen also called Kamalādevi (See Gulburga 56). The eldest son of Devarāya II was killed in the war of 1443; *vide* Briggs' Ferista: *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India*, Vol. II, p. 433.

4. Nagar 65, 67, 69 and Thirthahalli 206 respectively: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, pp. 283, 285, 286 in Rāmachandrapura Math and p. 374 at Tirthahalli (1904).

5. Nagar 67, 69 and Koppa 44: *E. C.* Vol. VI (1904), p. 179 at Edadale and *E.C.* Vol. VIII, pp. 283 and 286 in Rāmachandrapura Math (1904).

6. Nagar 65, 68, 69, Thirthahalli 206, and Sagar 68; *E.C.* Vol. VIII, p. 286 in Rāmachandrapura Math, p. 974 and page 197 at Satalalu.

7. Nagar 65, 69: *E.C.* Vol. VII, p. 283 and 286 in Rāmachandrapura Math (1904).

8. Nagar 65 and Thirthahalli 206: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, p. 283 and p. 374 at Thirthahalli (1904).

9. Nagar 65: *Op. Cit.*, p. 283.

10. The unusual words "ಪಿತ್ರ್ಯಂಸಿಂಹಾಸನಂ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ಯಪಾಲಯನ್ನವನೀಮಿಮಾಂ" applied to Mallikārjuna in Nagar 65 when taken together with "ನಿಜಾಗ್ರಜಾತ್ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ಯಮನಾದಿರಾಜ್ಯ——" as applied to his predecessor Vijaya Deva Rāya or Deva Rāya III suggests this interpretation especially when there is an interval of some months between Deva Rāya II's death in May 1446 A.D. and the earliest inscription of Mallikārjuna.

11. The poet, Nanjunda, in his *Paradāra Sodara-Rāmana Kathe* records an invasion of the Gajapati king Kapileswara and his defeat by Kampila close to Penukonda. As Kapileswara's date and invasion of South India fall under Mallikārjuna it is possible the poet has mistaken while drawing his materials from some original work. This incident is not noticed by the poet Ganga. Kapileswara was defeated by Kapila's son Rāmanātha, *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, part 3, verse 74.

12. Thirthahalli 68 and Sorab 18: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, p. 316 at Kavatedurga and p. 6 at Māvali (1904).

13. See extract p. 65 extract 25 in *Sources, Op. Cit.* of Gangadāsa *Pratāpavilāsam* in *ibid* and *Madras Epigraphical Report:* 1906 para 47 and 1907 para 56.

14. Mores of Vishālghad and the Shirkes of Southern Konkan.

15. *Vide* Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, page 439 for a detailed account of this catastrophy.

16. Nuniz states that these posts were lost during Virupāksha's reign and Briggs (*Op. Cit.*) also doubts Feristā's statements that part of Konkan was conquered by Mussalmāns at this time. But as in the campaign of Mahamod Gawan, 1469, A.D. he is noticed as having collected troops from Choul and Dabhol, and as no intermediate Bahamani campaign is noted, it is possible that the Choul and Dabhol districts were lost in 1453 A.D.

17. According to *Sāluvābhyudayam*, canto 3 (S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. Cit.* extract 33 pages 93-94) Sāluva Narasinga having started on an expedition against the Kalinga ruler at Udayagiri defeated him in a battle whereupon the latter retired within the walls of his city. Soon it was laid siege to and when a breach was effected in the fort, the Kalinga Rāja surrendered. Narasimha then returned. It was after this success that he turned his attention elsewhere (*Sāluvābhyudayam*, canto 5, *Ibid*, pp. 95-96).

18. This date as given by S. K. Aiyangar in his *Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History* has got to be corrected according to the investigations made by M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeology in Mysore State. It will be around 1452-53 A.D.

19. Thirthahalli 206: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 374, at Thirthahalli

20. He was the author of the Kannada (?) work called '*Jānavāsya*' and perhaps also of the Sanskrit work '*Mahānātaka Sudhānidhi*' which S. K. Aiyangar attributes to Deva Rāya II, (*Sources, Op. Cit.*, page 60, extract 20).

CHAPTER XIV

VIRA VIRUPĀKSHA RĀYA II (1465-1486 A.D.)

The Fall of the First Dynasty—Political conditions in 1465 A.D. —The Massacre at Bhatkal 1469 A.D.—Loss of Konkan 1469 A.D. —Loss of Goa 1470 A.D.—Rise of Sāluva Narasinga 1470-2 A.D. —First Loss of Belgaum 1472 A.D. —Great Durgā Devi famine —Final Loss of Belgaum—Siege and Storm of Vijayanagar—The Collision between Sāluva Narasinga and the Bahamani Sultān 1475-6 A.D.—Invasion of Narasinga's territory—Second attempt to recover Goa—The Story of Princess Padmāvati—King embraces Vaishnavism—Murder of Virupāksha—The First Usurpation.

The Fall of the First Dynasty

Virupāksha, the new king, was a son of Deva Rāya III by his wife Siddala Devi.[1] He was very different in character from his father, uncle or even his predecessor, Mallikārjuna. He cared for nothing but wine and women; besides, he was whimsical and cruel. Such glaring drawbacks in private life naturally reacted on his public actions and brought in their train, as we shall see later, great misery to his subjects and the loss of power to the sovereigns of the Sangama Dynasty.

Political conditions in 1465 A.D.

Virupāksha's reign was ill-starred from its beginning. Kapileswara Gajapati was still living and there was no improvement in his attitude towards Vijayanagar. In the neighbouring Bahamani kingdom, the disturbed reigns of Humayun and the Nizam were over and with them had passed all political conditions favourable to Vijayanagar in that quarter. For, though the new king, Mahamad, was young, the reigns of power were in the hands of a loyal and able statesman, the famous Mohamad Gawan. Thus, what was a great gain to the Bahamani kingdom was indirectly a loss to Vijayanagar, and that more so in a reign like that of this king. Nearer home, matters were even worse. While yet the Sāluva danger continued as a thorn in the side of the Sangama

House, Virupāksha had lost the affections of his people by wading to his throne through the blood of his kinsmen.

The Massacre at Bhatkal 1469 A.D.

We saw how, under Harihara II, the Vijayanagar generals conquered Goa and the Konkan in a long fought campaign which lasted, off and on, from 1382 to 1395 A.D. This piece of seaboard, with the beautiful port of Goa, was now to be wrested from Hindu hands and that in a novel way. From a long time Bhatkal was the sea port from which the kings of Vijayanagar used to get horses for their army from the Moorish dealers who had settled there. In 1469 A.D. these Moors sold their horses to the Bahamani Sultan much against the liking of Virupāksha. Getting angry at this he ordered his vassal at Honāwar to kill all those Moors as far as possible and drive the rest away. His orders were executed and in the terrible massacre that followed, 10,000 Moors lost their lives. The survivors fled and settled at Goa. Such dreadful destruction of human life could scarcely escape without its necessary penalty.

Loss of Konkan 1469 A.D.

The Bahamani kings, who were always looking out for some excuse to declare war against Vijayanagar, now bestirred themselves to the rescue of their co-religionists. The year 1468 A.D. was very advantageous to them. For, in that year Kapileswara, the lord of Orissa, died, thus relieving them of all anxiety from that quarter. Accordingly, Khwāja Mohamad Gawān, chief of affairs at Bidar, moved against Konkan in 1469 A.D. The leader of the local chiefs was the Rāja of Vishālaghad.[2] Besides the assault on Mussalmān arms in 1453 A.D., he had, with his fleet of 300 sail vessels, greatly harassed Mussalmān trade.

Gathering troops from Junnar, Chakan, Kolhar, Dābhol,[3] Choul, Wāi and Man, Mohamad Gawān forced the passes and cut his way through the woods to Vishālghad.[4] Vishālghad, however, after a siege of 5 months still held out when the rains forced the Mussalmāns to retreat above the ghats to Kolhāpur. At the commencement of the fine season, Vishālghad was again besieged and shortly afterwards taken by treachery.[5] After this, Gawān remained for some months in the Konkan to bring the

districts under control. According to Feristā, this was the first time that the Mussalmāns got possession of this famous fortress[6] and with it the districts also.

Loss of Goa 1470[7] A.D.

Gawān marched against the port and island of Goa sending 120 vessels to attack it by sea while he himself marched on land with his army. The campaign was so quick and well planned that, before Virupāksha could oppose his design, Gawān had made himself master of the place. On receiving information of this important conquest Mahamad Shah Bahamani ordered the *nobut* (drum) to beat the march of triumph for seven days, and made other rejoicings. Thus, did Vijayanagar lose an important seaboard and the prosperous ports of Choul, Dābul and Goa after keeping them for more than three quarters of a century.

Rise of Sāluva Narasinga 1470-2 A.D.

The reverses of Vijayangar in the Konkan could not pass without creating complications within the Empire itself. When the news of the death of Kapileswara reached the south, the Pāndyās thought that a nice opportunity had risen to extend their kingdom. So in 1469 A.D. they advanced as far as Kānchi. As Virupāksha was helpless to handle matters in the south, it fell to the lot of Sāluva Narasinga, his vassal and the ruler of Chandragiri, to champion the cause of the Empire. For this, the right political conditions were available in 1470-1 A.D. For, after the conquest of Konkan, the Bahamani Sultān had engaged himself in a war with the Gajapatis. In 1471 A.D. a relative of the king of Orissa, who had been ousted from the throne, begged aid from Mahamad Shah for the recovery of his rights. This was given and Mahamad invaded Telingāna.' He captured Kondapalli[8] and Rājahmandry.

Finding that the Gajapatis had enough on their hands to defend themsclves against Bahamani attacks in Telingāna and in the Circars, Sāluva Narasinga siezed the opportunity to recover the Coromandal coast which had been lost to the Empire years ago. He left his headquarters in 1470 A.D. and first captured Udayagiri from the Kalinga ruler. Then, by way of Kālahasti and Tiruvannāmālai, he left for the conquest of the Tamil country.

After taking Gingi and Bhuvangiri and bringing South Arcot under subjection Narasinga reached Kumbakonam by way of Tiruvadamaradur. He next proceeded along the north bank of the Kauvery to Sreerangam and Jambukeswaram. Hearing of this advance, the Chola chief avoided any collision with him and fled away. Leaving Jambukeswaram, Narasinga marched on Madurāi. From there he carried his arms as far south as Rāmeswaram. All the way every ruler appears to have submitted to him and paid him tribute, even the Ceylon king sending him a respectful embassy.[9] Returning homewards he visited Trivandrum and captured Dhārāpuram.[10] At the instance of a Mysore chief,[11] he invaded Nāgamandla.[12] Leaving a garrison there, he marched north on Penukonda, then threatened by a Mussalmān army.[13] Here he fought a battle with its chief called Pikkillu in Telugu. After securing that fort, he returned to the capital having sent forward his general, Iśwara Nāyaka,[14] to pursue the enemy and clear the country of stragglers. Iśwara Nāyaka carried out his master's orders to the very letter by inflicting a curshing defeat on the Bidar army at Kondukur.[15]

The First Loss of Belgaum 1472 A.D.

While Sāluva Narasinga was reducing the southern rebels and establishing order in the Tamil country, fresh troubles had developed for the Empire in the north. Sore at the loss of Goa and Konkan, Virupāksha had begun a fruitless effort to recover what he had lost. Taking advantage of the Bahamani kingdom's diversion during its expedition to Orissa under Mallik Hussan Bheirz Nizam-ul-Mulk, he instructed his vassal Birkana Ray,[16] Rāja of Belgaum, to recover Goa in 1472 A.D. The chief of Bankāpur also was asked to join him in the enterprise. But before they could get readv to start, Mahamad Shah Bahamani[17] came to know of it and retaliated by marching upon Belgaum itself. Birkana settled to stand a siege. The Mussalmān army made frequent attempts to take the fort by storm. They were repeatedly beaten back by the soldiers of the gallant Hindu chief who inflicted a loss of two thousand men. All this was to no purpose. Finding himself overpowered in the end, Birkana was compelled to surrender his fort and person to the Bahamani king and seek his protection. Greatly moved by his courage, Mahamad Shah treated him with consideration, and received him into

the order of his nobles. The territories attached to the fort were added to the estates of Khwājā Mahamad Gawān who had greatly distinguished himself during the siege.

The Great Durga Devi Famine 1471-1473 A.D.

These devastating campaigns could not escape the avenging hand of God. About this time a great famine called Durga Devi ravaged the Deccan, and there is little doubt that parts of Vijayanagar also suffered. It began in 1468 A.D. and lasted till 1475 A.D. of which the years 1471 A.D. and 1473 A.D. were of exceptional distress. According to Ferista[18] 'no rains fell and no crops were sown for two years. Many died and many left the country. In the third year, when rains at last fell, scarcely any one was left to till the land'.

Final Loss of Belgaum C. 1474 A.D.

After his capture of Belgaum in 1472, A.D. the Bahamani king turned his thoughts to the conquest of Telingāna. Wairagarh was invaded by him in 1474 A.D. and taken from Jatak Roy. Perhaps taking advantage of his diversion, Perkatapha, who was not reconciled to the change of masters, had 'withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa'. When this news reached Mahamad Gawān, he requested the Sultān's permission 'to put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of Kanara and Vijayanagar and annex them to the dominions of Islam'. Belgaum is said to have fallen in the course of the war undertaken soon after. This was the final loss of the town and district to Vijayanagar.

*Siege and Storm of Vijayanagar C. 1474 A.D. The Twelfth Bahamani War**

After annexing Belgaum, Gawān kept his promise of marching upon Vijayanagar. According to the Russian traveller, Athanasi Nikitin, who was in the Deccan about 1474 A.D., the king of Bidar attacked 'the power of Hindu prince Kadam[19] and took his capital

* The events hereunder are largely based on the Muslim sources. There may, however, be another side also; *vide* K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya: *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*. Vol. I. (Ed.).

Baichanagar, a vast city surrounded by three forts and crossed by a river'. In the capture of Vijayanagar 20,000 people were killed.[20] Further damage to the capital and its citizens was fortunately averted by a timely diversion of Bahamani attention towards Telingāṇa which was soon after threatened by an invasion by the king of Orissa, but there is little doubt that the Empire was thrown into great disorder by its various subordinates setting aside Virupāksha's supremacy and assuming an attitude of defiance, if not of absolute independence.

Collision between Sāluva Narasinga and the Bahamani Sultān 1475-76 A.D.

In an earlier para we saw how the death of Kapileswara Gajapathi in 1469 A.D. created an opportunity for the expansion of the Bahamani power in the *Circārs* and that of Sāluva Narasinga in the Tamil country. Unlike the southerners who seem to have taken kindly to Narasinga's rule over them, the people of the *Circārs* resented their subjection to a Mussalmān sovereign and frequently rose in rebellion against his officers. Their appeals for help stirred both the king of Orissa and the ruler of Chandragiri. Besides, Purushothama Gajapathi had his patrimony to recover and Sāluva Narasinga, his ambition for conquest to satisfy.

Actuated by these incentives, Gajapati entered Telingāna and after beating back Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri to Wazirābād, advanced as far west as Kowlas. Narasinga, on the other hand, concentrated his activities on the *Circārs* and after securing Kondaveedu and perhaps Kondapalli also, encamped before the walls of Rājamahendri. It was this that brought him into collision with Bahamani power. Finding the situation rather serious, the Sultān began, according to Feristā, by first driving back the Orissa king into his dominions and after imposing a treaty on him, turned south to meet Narasinga. When he arrived before Rājamahendri, he saw, as the Mussalmān chronicler graphically describes, 'an immense city on the farther side of which the infidel Narasimha Rāya with 70,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and *guns* (balls) and all the apparatus of war. Yet

notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narasimha Rāya heard of the arrival of the Sultān's army, thinking it advisable to avoid a clash, he elected to take to flight'. Rajamahendri fell in consequence, and its governor was enrolled among the Turkey, Telangi, and Habbi slaves. In course of time Kondapalli and Kondaveedu also fell.

After spending sometime in reducing the country to order, Mohamad Shah Bahmani turned southwards to punish his only remaining enemy, Narasinga. The causes for this were, according to Ferista, that Narasinga 'had frequently incited the Zemindars on the Bahamani frontier to rebel' and that of late he had shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and '*nalbatee*'. So, finding that 'the eradication of the worshippers of Lāt and Mawat, and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired', it was settled that the best course to adopt was 'to trample his country under the hoofs of the Sultan's horses and level the buildings with the ground'. Thus determined, the Sultan left Kondaveedu in C. 1480 A.D. having chosen a favourable season.

Invasion of Narasinga's territory 1481 A.D.

Narasinga, though not formally independent of Vijayanagar as yet, was still a powerful chief ruling over nearly the whole of the eastern half of the Empire. At one time, his power extended as far north as Musulipatam. He had a large army and had many strong footresses under him. Yet it was really surprising that he did not make any attempt to meet the invading army. On the other hand, according to Ferista, the Sultan rapidly marched from Kondaveedu and easily arrived within sight of the fortress of Mālur,[21] then the greatest fort in his country. In sheer terror, Narasinga is said to have made the usual presents and submitted without the least show of fight. After this, information about the richness of the temple and city of Kānchi reached the Sultan, and he marched at the head of a select force and laid siege to it on March 12, 1481 A.D. After sacking it, he returned homewards, having in memory of the celebrated vietory, ordered an elegant poetical account to be written and copies of it to be distributed throughout his dominions.

Second Attempt to recover Goa C. 1841 A.D.

The triumph of 1481 A.D. was, after all, short-lived, for, very soon troubles followed one another in the Bahamani kingdom. After his return from Kānchi, Sultan Mohamad Shah II, ordered the execution of his loyal minister Mohamad Gawān, against whom jealous courtiers had raised unworthy suspicions. The death of this able statesman was soon followed by discontent and disturbance among his nobles. Bahadur Mulk Gilāni, the son of the Bahmani governor of Goa, was among the first to rebel. Perhaps taking advantage of this internal trouble, the Vijayanagar king[22] sent a large army to recover Goa in C. 1481 A.D.[23] This expedition appears to have been successful in the beginning.[24] But on receipt of this intelligence, the Bahamani sultān directed Yoosoof Adil Khān to proceed with a Bijāpur division to oppose him. The results of this struggle are not clear.[25] But there is little doubt that Goa was again lost by Vijayanagar, owing to the treachery of the Hindus that held it.[26]

The Story of Princess Padmāvati

Scarcely had the Mussalmān scourge passed and given Vijayanagar some breathing time, then another equally, if not more, violent convulsion shook its eastern districts. This was the Oriya invasion and it happened thus. A daughter of the king of Karnāta[27] (?), by name Padmāvathi or Rupāmbika, had been betrothed to Purushotham Deva of Orissa. But subsequently learning that the Orissa king was in the habit of sweeping the car of Sri Jagannātha during the car festival, the king of Karnāta thought it derogatory for a Kshatriya to give his daughter to such a sweeper. At this, Purushothama Deva considered himself highly insulted, resolved to punish the king of Karnāta, take his daughter prisoner and marry her to an actual sweeper. In the first attempt he failed in his siege of Vijayanagar (?), but in the second, he sacked Kānchi though bravely defended by Sāluva Narasinga. After this, he laid waste his enemy's country as far as the Kāuvery and returned home with the king's daughter as prisoner. He then entrusted her to his minister for being married to a sweeper. But this wise minister took pity on the royal maiden, and at the next car festival, which immediately followed, offered her to the king who again was doing the duty of a sweeper

to the God. Purushothama Deva, being pacified by this time accepted Padmāvati.

The King embraces Vaishnavism

It was perhaps about this period that another noteworthy event happened at Vijayanagar. Ever since the founding of the Empire, more especially from about the beginning of the 15th century, there was a gradual but steady flow of Sri Vaishnavas to the imperial city. The various families of Tātāchāryas[28] Appalāchāryas and Chakravartis were carrying on propaganda among the masses, more especially of the Telugu country, under the security offered by the ancestors of Virupāksha. We read in Lingāyat works[29] that one Kandādi Peddayyāchārya was, for some time, a priest to Deva Rāya II. Although that great Emperor's conversion to Veeraśaivism greatly diminished the Vaishnava ascendency at the Vijayanagar court, it was only for a short period. Either moved by remorse at the cruel murder of his cousins or attracted by the doctrines of the new creed then gradually rising in the favour of his subjects, Virupāksha, who was a Veerasaiva till then, was some time about this formally received with his relatives and friends into the fold of the Sri-vaishnava creed. The credit of conversion was due to one Ettoor Narasimhāchārya,[30] a descendent of Rāmānuja by the female line and an ancestor of the later Tātāchāryas.

Murder of Virupāksha—C. 1486

The various events related in the preceding pages could scarcely escape their natural consequences. As time advanced and as disasters multiplied, Virupaksha's conduct changed from bad to worse. For frivolous reasons, he killed many of his captains. His subjects became greatly discontented and there were rebellions all round. At last, sick at the king's wickedness his own eldest son murdered him. But he, however, refused to be crowned, as he himself gave out that, by the murder of his father, he had committed an inhuman deed and thus was unworthy to succeed him. So, according to his own wishes, his younger brother called Pedea Rao[31] by Nuniz was placed on the throne.

The First Usurpation

This new king was as bad as, if not worse than, Virupāksha. He sank into vice and wickedness much deeper than his father. He stayed for the most part in the city, giving himself up to his women and neglecting all the affairs of his kingdom. Further, induced by his ministers and captains that his elder brother, who killed his own father, might any day aim at his life as well, he got suspicious of him and killed him with his own hand. Such dreadful deeds at the imperial capital called out loudly for wholesale reforms. The first Dynasty had run its course and the time came for it to disappear. By the extreme unworthiness of its later kings, it had lost all moral force so necessary for the stability of every civilised government. The continued neglect of the affairs of the State and the double murders coming close upon each other, stirred the provinces as nothing else had done before. One after another the subordinates of Vijayanagar became discontented and threw off their loyalty. The Empire stood in immediate danger of dismemberment and even destruction.

At this dangerous situation, Sāluva Narasinga thought that the right time had come for him to strike. So he wrote to the chiefs and captains of the kingdom about the necessity for a change in the affairs of the central government. Having thus first secured their goodwill and co-operation, he sent his general, Narasa Nāyaka, to march on Vijayanagar, attack the wicked king and seize the land. Accordingly, Narasa marched by way of Amboor,[32] Bangalore, Tumkur and Penukonda (?) capturing the forts and towns on the way. Proudha Deva Rāya, though informed of Narasa's movements, took no notice. At last when he entered Vijayanagar, the king, in alarm, escaped through his palace window and fled. Narasa did not follow the fugitive,[33] but took charge of the treasury and the royal establishments, and proclaimed his master as the new king of Vijayanagar. The people readily accepted this change of rulers and thus did the Sangama Dynasty, founded by the mighty Bukka, disappear giving place to another.

NOTES

1. Kielhorn accepts him to be the son of Devarāya II, but S. K. Aiyangar as the brother of Mallikārjuna (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 68).

H. Krishna Sastry regards him as the son of Mallikārjuna, *Annual Report of Arch. Survey of India 1907-8*, p. 225, note 5).

2. John Briggs: *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Powe*ɿ *in India*, Vol. II, page 483.

3. Nikitin, the Russian traveller about this time, speaks of Dabhol as the last sea port belonging to the Mussalmāns. (R. H. Majors: *India in the 15th Century*, p. 15). If this is correct Konkan, north of Dabhol, must have been lost to Vijayanagar during Mallikārjuna's reign, perhaps in 1453 A.D.

4. This place is Kehlna.

5. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 489.

6. *Ibid*, p. 484. The dates of the first capture of Goa are given differently. *The Commentaries of Albaquerque*, Vol. II, p. 88, 92. gives March 3rd. Correa, '*Lendas Da India*', Vol. II, p. 59 says March 1st Barros Decada II, Book V, Chapter III.

On May 17th, 1510 Yusaf Adil Shah's army made its way into the island of Goa and Albuquerque withdrew. Goa was lost to the Portuguese for a time.

The Portuguese also mention the same date 1510-50 A.D.—1570. See pp. 138-139 *Comdal, Op. Cit.*, Vol. II but on p. 93 of Vol. II *Comdal* we get 1510-70 =1440 for loss of Goa.

'Although the Moors always waged war with the Hindus of Goa until the Sabio [Portuguese name for Adil Shah] became the lord of Daquem, they could never overcome them; but this prince carrying on the war with them was as often times overcome and as many times conquered. Finally, having seized the possession of the hill country by treachery, he came down with a great body of men over against the island of Goa and remained encamped before the city for so long a time until he got inside. And after the capture of the entire city the rest of the kingdom fell without any further resistance and thereupon became the principal city of both kingdoms'.

But when Alfanso D'Albuquerque took Goa, it would be about 30 years (1510-40), more or less, since the Sabio had taken it from the Hindus (*Com. Dalf.*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97) Sabio or the Hidalcao (*Com. Dalf.*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 144, and *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 20 and 21) is said to have captured Goa from Vijayanagar 'by the treachery of the Hindus who used to hold it'. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 37. In 1470 it was conquered by the Mahomadan king of the Deccan, Mohamad Shah II, p. 74.

7. Goa belonged to various Hindu dynasties until the early part of the 14th century when it was conquered by the Mohamadan Naval of Honavar. In 1361 the Hindu minister of Harihara, Rāja of Vijayanagar, reconquered the city and it remained a part of the great Hindu kingdom of Southern India.

8. This is about 10 miles north-west of Bezwada.

9. *Vide Sāluvābhyudayam*, extracts in S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 97.

10. About 40 miles south-east of Coimbatore.

11. Called *Kulava Kutavachalendratatavāsin* in *Sāluvābhyudayam.*

12. This must be Nāgamangala, forty miles from Mysore.

13. This appears to be a Bahamani raid.

14. This was the grandfather of the famous Krishna Deva Rāya, *E. C.* Vol. IV, Part II, page 66 at Gundlupet.

15. This may be either the one in Nellore district, sixty miles north of Nellore, or that in Bellary district close to Siruguppa.

16. Also called by Ferista Birkana Ray, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 491.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-93

18. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

19. Kadam may mean (Virupa) Kades. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, page 102.

20. R. J. Majors: '*India in the XV Century*', Vol. IV, p. 29.

21. This is about 20 miles east of Bangalore.

22. Called Shew Ray by Ferista, perhaps meaning Iswara Rao or Narasimha Rao. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 517.

23. According to Ferista, Mohamad Shah's march was against Vijayanagar to seize the Konkan (*Ibid.*, p. 501). But it was after he had reached Belgaum that he got the news of Shew Ray's expedition against Goa, when he sent Yoosuf Adil Khan to oppose the enemy, Shew Ray. From March 1482 A.D. the date of his death, (*Ibid.*, p. 518), subtracting 3 months of the Sultan's stay at Ferozabad after his return from Belgaum and some time for the march from Bidar, the capture of Belgaum and the return home, we may place the despatch of Yoosuf Adil Khan towards the close of December and Shew Ray's march against Goa, about November/December, and the Sultan's own departure towards Belgaum and the Konkan, a little earlier, that is, about October/ November 1481 A.D.

24. Pāvagada 54 of 1487 A.D.: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 1209 in Matnur gives the title of '*Bhadra-Mulka-Saptānga-Harana*' to Chikka Tippa, the chief of Nidugal. It may be that Chikka Tippa served in Pāvagada taluk, Tumkur district, Mysore State, with the imperial army against (?) *Bhadra Maluka* (? Gilani) in the above Goa Expedition. As Bahadur Gilani is said (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 14) to have been killed in action some years after, in 1493 A.D., while Jamkhandi in Belgaum border was being recaptured by Mahmood Shah Bahamani from Bahadur Gilani, who had seized it earlier. This suggests that not only were the First and Second Adil Shahi Wars earlier than 1493 A.D., but also that the Goa expedition of Vijayanagar against Bahadur Gilani, when, according to the suggestion thrown out by Pāvagada 54 of 1487 A.D.: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 209 in Matnur, Chikka Tippa or one of his ancestors earned the title of '*Bhadra-Mulka-Saptānga-Harana*'. This may refer to Vijayanagar's successful attack to recover Goa in 1481 A.D. or some time immediately before or after.

According to Ferista (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 10) Bahadur Gilani was in possession of Goa and All Dureabar about 1493 A.D.

25. Also see Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, Chapter VII, pages 197-198. The account of the Portuguese that Goa was so many times taken and lost by Yoosuf Adil that at last 'he finally secured it by the treachery of the Hindus who held it' helps the dating of this event. As it is said in Portuguese sources that 40 years before its final capture about 1510 A.D. by the Portuguese, Goa had been taken by Yoosuf Adil, the date for the latter would be around 1470 A.D. and not 1481 A.D. as in the para above.

There is also another difficulty with regard to accepting this date for the Vijayanagara expedition against Goa. According to Ferista (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 498) in 1480-81 A.D. Mahomed Shah Bahamani was engaged in the reconquest of Rājamahendri, Kondavidu, Kondapally, etc., and the fight against Sāluva Narasimha by raiding, capturing and plundering places in the east and south like Mālur and Kānchi that belonged to him. It is improbable that Sāluva Narasimha, while fighting for his very existence at this time, should have diverted his forces towards another enemy such as Bahadur Gilani of Goa. Another reason that the date of the Vijayanagar expedition against Goa could be when Bahadur Gilani ruled and not any other is also important. According to Ferista (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 502) Mohamad Shah II, divided the country after his return from Kānchi, etc., in 1481 A.D. and placed Goa, Belgaum etc , under an officer by name Fukhr-ool-Moolk. As Mahomad Shah Bahamani died in March 1482 A.D. (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, Appendix C, page 407), it is doubtful whether he had time enough to attend to matters about Goa, after he had returned from his eastern expedition in 1480-81 A.D. or before April 1481 A.D. (See Major King: *Burham-i-Maasir*, p. 113).

So 'Shew Ray, the King of Beejanagar', who sent the expedition in 1481 A.D., must be someone else, perhaps Virupāksha, who was then reigning. It is barely possible that Sāluva Narasimha is meant. As for the date of 'Shew Ray's' expedition against Goa, there is another way of looking at it. Both Ferista (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 509) and Major King (*Burham-i-Maasir*, p. 113) give April 5th, 1481 A.D. for Mahmood Gawan's death. It was some months (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 516) after the Sultan's return to Bidar that the Bahamani Sultan is said to have marched to recover Goa and Konkan; if so, from whom else could it be but from 'Shew Ray'. This suggests that Vijayanagar had captured Goa earlier than 1481 A.D. and as Pāvagada 45 of 1487 A.D.: *E.C.* Vol. XI, page 209 in Matnur records the *Bhadra-Mulka-Saptānga-Harana* title to this or the other Chief of Nidugal, the capture must be from the hands of Bahadur-ool-Mulk who had been cut off from any help.

26. According to Feristā (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 529) the port of Goa was at first granted to Kishur Khān)? of Belgaum) and by him transferred to Najim-ood-Deen Geelany. After the latter's death it had been seized by Bahadur Geelany, one of his officers, who also occupied Dabul, Kotappoor, Kothar, Punāla, Sirāla and Belgaum in about 1486 A.D.

27. The name of this king is Virupāksha according to *Tarini Charan-Rath* (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II, March 1919, Part I, pp. 147 to 149).

28. See Thirthahalli 68: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 316 at Kāvaledurga for a Tātācharya and Sorab 158: *E. C.* Vol. VIII, page 54 at Bidarigere (1904) for Nallān Chakravarthi.

29. Veerasaiva works.

30. *Vide Prapannāmritam* (S. K. Aiyangar *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 73) one Narasimhāchāri, a household priest of Deva Rāya II lived in 1427 A.D.; perhaps he is the same as above (See Sewell: *Lists*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, page 19-20.)

31. Perhaps the same as Proudha Deva Rāya.

32. This is about 28 miles south-west of Vellore, the district headquarters of North Arcot.

33. The *Vidyāranya-Kālagnāña* says that he fled to a foreign country; and he must have died there. (K. A. Neelakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Souces of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. III, page 13).

CHAPTER XV

THE SECOND DYNASTY

SĀLUVA NARASINGA RĀYA I (1486-1493 A.D.)

The Claims of Sāluva Narasinga—Sāluva Narasinga as Emperor—The Bequest of Sāluva Narasinga—Character of Sāluva Narasinga—First Adil Shahi War.

Sāluva is neither a family nor a clan name. It is a military title meaning the 'Hawk' and is equivalent to the Persian, Behri, or the European Orders of the Eagle. These Sāluvas vaguely traced their descent from the Yādavās[1] and claimed Kalyāni[2] as their place of origin. So far as is known, Gunda I was the first historical person[3] in the family. Being dispossessed of his ancestral estate by the Mussalmāns, his son Mangu or Mangappa Dandanātha left the Deccan for southern India in search of employment. After the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom, he took service under Bukka I and rose to public notice under his son, Kumāra Kampaṇṇa, during the latter's south Indian wars. Mangu's descendents claim for him the honour of killing the Sultān of Madurai in battle. Anyway, there is little doubt that he was the first of this family to earn, by his brave deeds, the title of Sāluva which his posterity continued to cherish so proudly. It was perhaps during his life time and in return for his service[4] to the State, that the Sāluvas were granted estates in the eastern border of Mysore.[5] Mangu's son, Gunda,[6] was even a mightier conqueror and lived during the reign of Harihara II. Another scion of the family was Sāluva Gopa, an important officer under Deva Rāya II, and his right hand man. Tekel[7] was, for long, one of the Sāluva centres and Mālur was another. From these places, they spread themselves over the neighbouring districts of Bangalore and Chittoor. It was from the Chittoor branch that Sāluva Narasinga hailed.

The Claims of Sāluva Narasinga

Sāluva Narasinga was a grandson of Mangu and son of Sāluva Gunda or Gunda Rāya Odeyar who ruled at Chandragiri.[8] After

his death, Narasinga succeeded to his estate in about 1449[9] A.D. At that time its dimensions scarcely exceeded a modern district. But during a long period of more than thirty years under Mallikārjuna and Virupāksha, he had extended its boundaries nearly over the whole Empire and at last secured the imperial powers as well. By blood he was but distantly connected with the Sangama Dynasty, an uncle of his, Tippa of Tekel having married Harina, a sister of Deva Rāya II. Thus he was a cousin to Virupāksha, the last king of that House. But his real claims to the throne of Vijayanagar were his right of conquest and the universal choice of the people.

Sāluva Narasinga as Emperor

Narasinga's first action as emperor was to win the love of his people. To secure this, he did numerous acts of justice. He next restored internal order by bringing back to submission all territories that had revolted against the Central Government during Virupāksha's misrule. In this he was greatly assisted by his four powerful generals, Nāganna Naika, Āraveeti Bukka, and his son Rāma, Iswara Naika and his son Narasa Naika. The places conquered by the two latter were Gandikota,[10] Gundugu-chinta, Ammakundam, Bangalore, Sri Ranga (Puram), Tumkur, Bāgooru and Naragonda.[11] After thus securing control over his internal administration, he cast his eyes across the Tungabhadra to recover the Doab which had been previously lost to the Mohamadans. The occasion for this rose in the following way.

The Legacy of Sāluva Narasinga

Some time after these events, Sāluva Narasinga died. Before his death, he sent for his favourite general Narasa Naika and handing over the administration to his care by testament, told him that of the fortresses that formerly belonged to the Empire only Rāichoor, Udayagiri and Kondaveedu remained yet unconquered and that all the royal treasures were his alone but that he would beg him to bring up his little sons and to keep good guard over the kingdom and deliver it up to any of the two, who proved the most fitted.

Character of Sāluva Narasinga

Sāluva Narasinga was not a selfish usurper but a timely a saviour of the Empire. It was by his efforts that most of the lost

lands of Vijayanagar were recovered and the dislocated administration of the State restored to its former working order. He imported horses from Ormuz and Aden and strengthened his army, and by paying them whatever price was demanded, he gave a great stimulus to their trade. It is said that he purchased horses, dead or alive, at three for a thousand *paradaos*, and of those that died at sea, only the tails were brought and paid for as if they had been alive.

Besides being a great warrior, Narasinga was a patron of letters and himself an author. Rājanātha Dindima, the author of *Sāluvābhyudayam*, was his court poet. Of others that enjoyed his patronage was Virabhadra, the author of the Telugu *Jaimini Bhārata*. He himself is reputed to have been the author of the Sanskrit work *Dharani Varāha*. He was popular among his subjects as a man of justice and generosity. The famous Mādhva teacher, Sreepada Rāya, lived during his reign.

The First Adil Shāhi War—1492 A.D.

Consequent upon the assassination of Mahomed Gawān in 1481 A.D. and the death of Sultan Mahomed Shah in 1482 A.D., factions had arisen in the Bahamani kingdom, in which the Deccan, the Turki and the Habbi nobles rose to supreme position by turns and fought against each other. At last, Kasim Bārid Turk seized all power and was raised by the new sultan to the dignity of Mir-i-Jumla or supreme master of the State. Other nobles, especially Yoosoof Adil Shah and Mallik Ahmad Bahri, becoming discontented with this, revolted and declared themselves independent of the Central power. Besides, Yoosoof wrested many forts from the governors of the late Sultan Mahmood Shah, and subdued all the country from the river, Bheema, to Bijāpur. Finding himself unable to suppress the activities of Yoosoof Adil Shah, Kasim Bārid settled to overcome him by having recourse to diplomacy, and consequently wrote letters to Bahadur Gitāni, the ruler of Goa and the Konkaṇ, and the Rāya of Vijayanagar to invade the territory of the rebel. To the latter, he offered, on behalf of Mahomed Shah, to hand over the forts of Mudgal and Rāichoor, if he could only wrest them from Yoosoof. This was, indeed, what was desired by Sāluva Narasinga at the time of his death. Soon a big Vijayanagar army was in motion

under the command of Timmarāja[12]. It crossed the Tungabhadra and after laying waste the Doab, captured Mudgal and Rāichoor. What is more, it even marched on Bijāpur. After this, Thimmarāja stayed further progress with the object of watching fresh developments. In the meantime, Bahadur Gitāni, the other enemy of Bijāpur king, had also met with success and reduced the fortress of Jamkhandi. At this juncture Yusuf met and defeated Gitāni, and drove him off but without taking Jamkhandi. He marched against Kasim Bareed also. Meanwhile, hearing that dissensions prevailed at Vijayanagar he marched to retake Rāichoor. Yoosoof, finding himself too weak to meet this double attack, quickly made peace with Vijayanagar and then turned his army against Bahadur Gitāni and Bārid. By the terms of this compromise, Vijayanagar appears to have foregone Rāichoor and kept Mudgal only[13].

NOTES

1. They had also the title of Chālukya Nārāyana. Devulapalli grant of Narasimha II. *E. I.* Vol. VII, page 84.

2. This must evidently be the same Kalyāṇi about 100 miles north—west of Hyderābād. (S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 32-34.

3. See the Chakkenahalli grant of Immadi Narasimha on pp. 96-100 in *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1924 and other Sāluva grants; also the Telugu *Jaimini Bhāratam* by Pillalamarri Pina Veerabhadra, introduction to Aswamedha Parva; also *Varuna Purānamu* by Nandi Mallayya and Ganta Singayya, Chapter I. Also compare genealogical table. S. K. Aiyangar, *Op. Cit.* extract No. 21 and 32, pages 86-87.

4. Mālur 1 of 1434 A.D. (*E. C.* Vol. X, 1905 pages 186-7 at Tekal), notes the grant of Tekal to Sāluva Gopa, the sister's son of Deva Rāya II but this must be only an addition to the Sāluva estates, for, these inscriptions [e.g. Mālur 4: *E. C.* Vol. X, (1905) page 187 at Tekal] tell us that the Sāluvas were in this locality even earlier.

5. Mangappa Dannāyaka said to be ruling over Bāgepalli locality in 1391 A.D., was perhaps this man. See Bāgepalli 16: *E. C.* X. (1905) page 286 at Devaragudipalli.

6. Belur 3 of 1397 A.D.: *E. C.* Vol. V, part I, page 99 (1902) in and Channapattana 37 of 1396 A.D.: *E. C.* Vol. IX, page 175 (1905) at Harur, notice one Gundappa Denāyaka, and Nagar 29 of 1407-8 A.D.: *E. C.* Vol. VIII, page 246 at Haritālu (1904) refers to one in passing. All these refer probably to the same person, perhaps the famous Vijaya Gunda Dandanātha of Harihara II's reign.

7. Malur 3 of 1431 A.D.: *E. C.*, Vol. X, page 186 (1905).

8. Narasinga inscription on the north wall of the central shrine of the Govindarāja temple at Tirupati, Chandragiri taluk, Chittoor district. *South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 462, Vol. IX, part II, page 473.

9. But Nuniz's 44 years for this king when subtracted from 1493 A.D. give us this date, corresponding roughly to 1451 A.D. mentioned in Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, Vol. II, p. 62. Also his earliest inscription at Tirumala Venkatesaperumal Temple dated 1456 A.D. (*Saka* 1378, *Dharti*). *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1904, Appendix B, No. 253.

10. Tandikota in Cudappah district, *Mysore Gazetteer*, page 1682, line 21 and Sewell: *Lists*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, page 123.

11. Nāragonda (probably Nāragallu in Chittoor taluk) *Mysore Gazetteer*, *Op. Cit.*, line 24.

12. S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 311 identifies this person with Narasa; but it is more likely that Tirumala Rāja, the brother of Narasinga, is meant. Kānakanāhalli 1 of 1494 A.D.: *E. C.* Vol. IX (1906) page 149 at Neettagere, notices on Dannāyaka Thimmayya Deva Mahā Arasu also.

13. See Nuniz's account of Sāluva Narasimha's testament, (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 316), where he mentions Raichoor as one of the three fortresses left unconquered by Narasinga at the time of his death. Timmarāja's march on Raichoor must, therefore, necessarily be after Sāluva Narasinga I's time. For the reason that 1491 A.D. has been indicated by me as the last year of Sāluva Narasinga I and the first of his son, Immadi Narasinga, this war must have taken place after 1491 A.D.

CHAPTER XVI

SĀLUVA NARASINGA RĀYA II[1] (C. 1493-1506-7 A.D.)

Differences over succession—The Second Adil Shahi War 1493 A.D.—The Battle of Mānvi—Rivalry between Timma and Narasa—Triumph of Narasa Naika—The Imprisonment of the King—Narasa's South Indian Conquest—Vasco-Da-Gama's arrival—The Murder of Immadi Narasinga.

Differences over Succession

Soon after Sāluva Narasinga's death, differences rose about the succession. Narasa Naika who had been nominated 'Protector', settled his choice on the elder of the two sons. But Thimmarāja, another powerful noble of the Vijayanagar court, favoured the younger prince, Narasinga. These disputes resulting in a deadlock, offered the chief of Bijāpur a good chance to recover Rāichoor which he had lost only a short time ago. But invitation from Kasim Barid being sent to Bahadur Gilāni and the king of Vijayanagar to attack Yusuf's territories and take away Rāichoor and Mudgal, Thimma Rāj made up his differences with the young Rāya and marched with an army into the Doab.

The Second Adil Shāhi War[2]—1493 A.D.

Accordingly, early in 1493 A.D, Yoosoof Adil Khan moved out at the head of 8,000 horse and two hundred elephants of all sizes. On reaching the banks of the Krishna, he encamped for two months apparently as a result of illness, but really watching the turn of events at Vijayanagar. Meanwhile, Thimmarāja, crossed the Tungabhadra with his own army to the relief of Rāichoor. Then turning round with the object of carrying the war into the country of the invader, he advanced on Bijāpur. When this intelligence reached Yoosoof, he was stricken with terror. He, therefore, settled to engage the enemy in a pitched battle wherever he then was and take his chance.

The Battle of Mānvi[3] *—April 1493*

Yoosoof advanced and encamped at a little distance from Thimma Rāja's army and then dividing the ground among his officers to the best advantage, threw up entrenchments round his camp to prevent surprise. Besides himself, he had many brave generals in his army such as Kamal Khān, Deccany[4] Ghuzunfur Beg, Mirza Jehangeer and Dawood Khan Lody. Thimma Rāja was accompanied by Narasa Naika[5], Āraveeti Bukka[6], and perhaps his son Rāma also. After several days of inactivity both armies drew out at last on a Saturday in April 1493. As usual the Hindus had the advantage in the beginning. When the Bijāpur troops saw five hundred of their fellows killed, they fell back in disorder. Taking this as a rout, Thimma Rāja's soldiers busily engaged themselves in plunder. Meanwhile, an officer of the Mussalmān army, who had been taken prisoner, made his escape and reported to his master that the Hindus had scattered themselves and so could be easily attacked with advantage. Greatly encouraged at this news, Yoosoof Adil Khan sent a message to Thimma Rāja entreating peace and offering to acknowledge allegiance to the Rāya for the country he held[7]. Glad at this apparent submission, the Hindu general and the Rāya came, attended by three or four hundred followers and their principal nobility to a conference in the field, when Yoosoof fell upon them by surprise with his whole army and routed them wounding the Rāya in action and killing seventy persons of rank. The Hindu troops, alarmed at the death of their chiefs, fled. Thimma Rāja, not having time to collect his whole army, drew up seven thousand horse, a considerable number of foot, and three hundred elephants to oppose him. But Yoosoof Adil Khān charged with such impetuosity that Thimma Rāja, unable to stand the attack, fled leaving two hundred elephants and a thousand horses in the hands of the victors besides sixty lakhs of *hoons*[8]. After this success, Yoosoof Adil Khān, conferred on Roab Jung Bahadur Khān fifty elephants, with one lakh of *hoons*, and detached him with a force to reduce the forts of Mudgal and Rāichoor. This having been accomplished in the space of forty days, Adil Khān returned to his capital with wealth and power greatly increased.

The Rivalry between Timma and Narasa

This set-back to the Hindu arms brought no wisdom to the

rival parties at Vijayanagar. Thimma Rāja had not been fully reconciled to the young Rāya, who was Narasa Nāik's nominee and whom he had been compelled to acknowledge as sovereign only an account of the threatened foreign invasion. So finding himself free again, he determined to kill that prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narasa had bidden him to commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted, and he thought that for this act of treason Narasa Nāik would be put to death. And soon the prince was killed one night by one of his own pages who had been bribed for that purpose and who slew the prince with a sword[9]. As soon as Narasa Nāik heard that he was dead and learned that he himself was supposed to have sent an agent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the sovereign to be king, not being able to further punish Thimma Rāja, as he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Thimma Rāya[10]. But this in no way improved Narasa's influence. For, as he was not formerly of the new king's party, and also as the Rāya was fond of Thimma Rāja, all power really lapsed into the hands of his rival.

Triumph of Narasa Naika—1494 A.D.

Seeing that matters were clearly going against him, Narasa went out one day from the city of Vijayanagara towards Ānegondi giving out that he was going on a hunt leaving all his household in the city. After he had arrived there, he betook himself to Penukonda[11], where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the king, Narasinga[12], of the cause of his going away, relating to him the treason that Thimma Rāya[13] had carried out in slaying his brother, the king, and by whose death he had inherited the kingdom. He told him how the kingdom as well as the care of himself and his brother had been entrusted to him by his father, and that, as Thimma had killed his brother, he would deal with him in the same way as he was a traitor; and he urged that it was necessary to punish him. But the king being very fond of Thimma Rāya to whom he owed the throne, bestowed favour on him instead of punishing him, and took his part against Narasa. Narasa Nāika then marched against the king with large forces and besieged him, until he

commanded Thimma[14] to be put to death; after which he sent his head to be shown to Narasa who greatly rejoiced. Narasa Nāika sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was well received by all the people, who loved him as a man of much justice.

The Imprisonment of the King[15]—C. 1496-97[16]

Whatever the advantages to the people and the State, the triumph of Narasa Nāyaka was in no way a blessing to the king. Narasa, though willing to concede all formal honours to his master[17], was in no mood to surrender the real powers. Thus days and years passed widening the gulf of misunderstanding between the sovereign and his subordinate. All the while, Narasa continued to rise in power and position, till at last he determined to keep Narasinga a prisoner and assume fully independent control of the Government. So, after making a liberal allowance for the captive's maintenance, he sent his sovereign away to Penukonda where he kept him in close custody under a guard of 20,000 men, commanded by a favourite of his by name Thimmappa Nāika[18]. This must have been about 1496 A.D. when conditions in the neighbouring Bahamani kingdom were favourable to such drastic changes at Vijayanagar.

But this high-handed measure of imprisoning the sovereign did not, however, commend itself to all the vassals of the Empire. Some, who were nearer the capital and so within reach of Narasa Nāika's arm, appeared to have quietly accepted the change. But those at a distance, like the chiefs in Mysore, North Arcot, and Chengalpet districts preferred to continue their allegiance to their lawful sovereign in prison, while others, bolder and more powerful like the Chola and Pāndya feudatories, disputed Narasa's pretensions and threw off the imperial yoke[19]. This state of affairs naturally called forth for immediate action necessitating a military movement through the rebel provinces.

Narasa's South Indian Conquests[20]—1497-8 A.D.[21]

Accordingly, Narasa left Vijayanagar in the beginning of the year 1497 A.D. and moved out first towards the east. After defeating some of his enemies there, he marched south along the sea coast till Tondamandalam[22] was reached. This province

was then being ruled by one Koneti Rāja[23], who opposed him with his elephant hordes. Narasa overcame Koneti, who fled in panic. After this Narasa proceeded to the conquest of Cholamandalam, whose chief had been harassing the country around. On reaching the Kāveri, the Vijayanagara army crossed over to its southern side and encamped there waiting for the enemy. The Chola was advised by his ministers to come to terms with Narasa. The Chola chief, however, decided to fight the invader and take his chance. A severe battle followed, and the Chola was defeated and taken prisoner. Somehow he soon made his escape to the sea coast leaving all his wealth and relatives behind him. Then after ordering his troops not to molest the people any further, the victor entered and occupied Sri Rangam[24], the Chola capital.

Next, Narasa marched against Māna Bhupa or Bhusha, the Marava ruler of Madurai[25]. This chief also was engaged, defeated and killed in battle[26]. After this, Madurai also witnessed the triumphal entry of the Imperial army[27]. Leaving Madurai behind, Narasa Nāika proceeded to Rāmeswaram. After taking the fort and making many gifts to the temples, he turned his steps homeward in 1497 A.D.[28] On the way home, Srirangapatna was besieged; Narasa dammed the Kāveri while in full flood and crossed over to the island. The defeated chief of the place surrendered himself with all his relatives and made his submission to the conquerer. At this Narasa forgave him and gave him back his kingdom. Then continuing his journey, he secured Tumkur and Tarasingi. At last Gokarna[29] was reached, where he performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony and made various gifts. It must be here and about this time that Narasa first made a move towards formal kingship.

Vasco-Da-Gama's arrival 1498 A.D.

About this time another event happened which was of considerable importance to the future political fortunes of Vijayanagar. This was the arrival of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast. During their subjection to the Moorish rule, those people had come to learn through them of the fabulous wealth and resources of India. Having witnessed the opulence and prosperity of their Arab masters, the Portuguese also had developed a taste

for the luxuries and attractions of the East. Once free, they were impelled by a desire to trade on their own behalf and benefit by it. To this was added their burning hatred of the Mussalmāns and their determination to injure their one-time oppressors, wherever and however possible. But as the Arabs held a monopoly of the trade with the east, and as the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf routes were closed to them, they were induced by necessity to try and discover an independent passage to India. So from the time of Don Henrique, some 40 years earlier, they had been making repeated efforts to reach India by way of the Atlantic ocean. Little by little their explorations along the African coast had progressed, till at last in April 1498 A.D. Vasco-Da-Gama, an able sailor, succeeded in reaching Calicut with three ships, well stocked with a variety of articles of European workmanship. At first, he was welcomed by the Zamorin but later on being instigated by the Arab merchants whose monopoly of trade Da-Gama's arrival had threatened, he was ill-treated and forced to leave Calicut.

Sailing from that place he called at Cannānore where he was better received by the local ruler with whom he entered into a commercial treaty on behalf of his country. Leaving Cannānore he proceeded to Anjader in North Kanarā, touching Kundāpur on his way. Anjader was at this time under Thimmayya, the chief of Honnāvar, who was subordinate to the ruler of Gersoppa, who in his turn was a subordinate of Vijayanagar. In the absence of any advice from the Central power, Thimmayya treated the newcomers in his own way by trying to plunder their ships. This was a severe disappointment to Vasco-da-Gama who had been instructed by his king to cultivate the friendship of the Hindus and destroy only the Mussalmān powers. To Vijayanagar especially, the arrival of the Portuguese was a godsend as will be narrated later on. Although this first offer of the foreign power was unfortunately lost at this time, Narasa's successors readily made use of it in their struggles against their Mussalmān enemies.

The Murder of Immadi Narasinga[30] (?) *1501 A.D.*

Some time after the Portuguese contact, another incident happened which was of equal importance to the Sāluva dynasty if not to the history of the Empire. This was the murder of the

captive king, Immadi Narasinga. At first Narasa[31] is said to have entertained no treacherous design against his sovereign. But being influenced by some of his partisans, he consented after some time[32] to get rid of him altogether. So a trap being cleverly laid, the poor prisoner was induced to escape from captivity and during the attempt murdered at Penukonda by Narasa's agent, Kondamarasu,[33] in a mysterious and secret manner. For a long time nobody knew what had happened to the king. It was rumoured that he had secretly escaped from captivity, and to confirm this impression, Narasa Nāika even gathered his forces to meet the expected army of his sovereign. At last when no news of Narasinga could be had, Narasa, who was for a long time the real ruler, formally proclaimed himself king[34] in C. 1499 A.D. Thus did Vijayanagar sovereignty pass from the hands of the Sāluvas to those of the Tuluvas.

NOTES

1. Called Immadi Narasinga, Tamma Rāya, Dharma Rāya and Bhujabala Rāya in inscriptions e.g. Goribidanur 80: *E. C.* Vol. X, page 281 at Vatada Hosahalli.

2. The whole of this para and the next are based almost entirely on Ferista's account: Briggs. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 11-14.

3. The name of the battlefield is only an inference.

4. Ferista's Adil Shahi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 33.

5. This is an inference and correct only if this is the same as the battle of Mānvi.

6. The accounts of their victories over Edula Khān at Mānava Durga appear to refer to this battle only.

7. This is the account of Dustoor Khān. Briggs *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

8. This is calculated as more than two million pounds sterling. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, footnote.

9. This is Nuniz's version. See Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire:* p. 308, Ferista says in one place (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13) that the young Rāya was wounded in action and in another place (p. 35) that Thimrāj (Heemrājee of Scott's translation of Ferista, p. 228) poisoned him.

10. *Ibid.* Under the Second Dynasty, the younger prince of the king is called Kammārāya (Kumāra Rāya) meaning in Kannada the younger king. This is another indication that at the Vijayanagar court the Kannada language and not Telugu was in use. See Venkoba Rao's *Vyāsa Yogi Charitam* which seems to clear up many doubts in this connection.

11. Penukonda appears to have been his personal estate. Nuniz's account (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-11).

12. Called Tammarāya or Tammarao in the original. This was another name of Narasinga. Nuniz's account, *Op. Cit.*, p. 309.

13. { Called Thimmarasa in the original (Nuniz's account, Sewell:
14. } *Op. Cit.*, pp. 306-7).

15. Nuniz's account on p. 310 of Sewell: *Op. Cit.*

16. We depend wholly upon Nuniz's account for the material of this para. See also *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, *āsvāsa* I, verse 13 which seems to suggest this.

17. Nuniz, however, does not help us much in fixing the date of the king's imprisonment. This date must be deduced indirectly by the writer's statement that they preceded Narasa Nāyaka's military expedition to put down the rebels. (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 310). This, for reasons given in the next para, we consider as having been undertaken in 1497-98 A.D. Hence earlier than the expedition would be 1496 or 1497 A.D.

18. See Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, page 360; Nuniz says that this Timapanarque was the son of Codemarade. On p. 318 the same author tells us that after the capture of Kondavidu by Krishna Rāya, he gave the command of the fort to Sāluva Timma (Salvatinea) who left in it a part of his army under one of his brothers. On p. 327 Nuniz spells Codemarade as Comadamara. According to *Rāya Vāchakamu* (Extract 38 in S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123) Krishna left one of his generals by name Kondayya in charge of Kondavidu. From inscriptions of the period we know that it was Kondamarasu who continued to be the governor of the above and other forts for a long time, and so we have to interpret Codemarade or Comdamare as Kondamarasu only. See *Nellore District Inscriptions* by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, Vol. III, Podili 36. pp. 1197-1200 at Podili, *Ibid:* Podili 4: pp. 1155-56, at Chilamakuru and *Ibid*: Vol. II: Kandukur 27: at Gundlapalem all the above are of date 1514 A.D. The last says that Kondamarasayya was the Governor of Udayagiri at that time. Inscription 325 of 1516 A.D. *Madras Epigraphical Report* of 1919, page 76, at Bezwāda from Bezwādā says that under the orders of Krishna Deva Rāya, the above Kondamarasu set up an edict at the place. This Kondamarasu must have been a brother of Sāluva Timma, and Timmappa Nāyaka, son of this Kondamarasu, was the officer who murdered Immadi Narasinga Rāya to make way for Narasa Nāyaka's independent rule.

19. This is the likely explanation for the overlapping dates of Narasa and Sāluva Narasinga II between 1490 and 1504 A.D. (Sewell: *Op.Cit.* p. 107).

20. The materials for this para are drawn from different sources. Firstly, we depend upon Nuniz's passing reference to Narasa Nāyaka's making war on several places that had revolted; *Ibid*, p. 310. Secondly we get some more information about Narasa's battle with Koneti Nāyaka, the Chola and Pāndya rulers from *Achyuta Rāyābhyudaya*, *sarga* I, verses 30, 31, 32 and 33.

21. The date of Narasa's South Indian conquests is fixed roughly by (1) the date of his presence at Rāmeswaram which is given as *Saka* 1420, *Pingala*. Here Pingala will be in 1496-97 A.D. and *Saka* 1420 will be 1498 A.D. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 474 page 489. Inscription dated 1497 A.D. (2) His presence at Tirumakudlu Narasipur near Mysore 33: *E. C.* Vol. III, page 8 at Hanche. It must be naturally about this time when he was in Mysore State that he should have captured Sreerangapatna. Here *Saka* 1418 will be 1496 and *Nala*, *Āsvija* October 1496 A.D.

22. This will roughly include the present Chengalpet and the two Arcot districts.

23. *Achyta Rāyābhyudayam, sarga* I, verse 33.

24. *Ibid.*, verse 30. In the text it is given as 'Srirangapuramnagari' and not Sriranga as interpreted by the commentator of the above work on p. 16 and translator on p. 108 of S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*. *Pārijātāpaharanamu* by Nandi Timmanna, however, gives it as Srirangapattanasima and ruled by one *Yavana*.

25. The word may be read as Mānabhupa or king Māna. As Māna or Māna-Vikrama sometimes appears in the list of Kerala and Pāndya (?) kings, there is nothing strange in this interpretation. *Pārijātāpaharamau* (*Ibid.*, verse 13, p. 4, Madras edition, 1916) incorrectly refers to the lord of Madurai as Chola-Vallabha. *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam* (*sarga* I, verses 31 and 32), however, correctly states that the ruler of Madurai was a Marava by caste. This means that he was a Pāndya and his name was Māna.

26. See *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam, sarga* I, verses 31 and 32. *Pārijātāpaharanamu, āsvāsa* I, verse 13.

27. *Ibid,*, verses 32 and 13 respectively. Both *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu* say that the ruler of Madurai was killed.

28. See *Maduraittala-varalaru* in appendix E in Satyanātha Aiyar's *History of the Naiks of Madura*, p. 375.

29. This place is on the sea coast 25 miles south of Karwar in North Kanara.

30. See Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 312.

31. Though we follow Nuniz with regard to Narasa being the murderer, the epigraphs of Immadi Narasinga Rāya continue till 1506 A.D., and, therefore it may be doubted whether it was Narasa Nāyaka or his son, known as Vira Narasimha, that was really the regicide.

32. At present we have no means of knowing how long after his imprisonment the king was murdered.

33. See Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 360 for Nuniz's narrative, where it is said that it was Codemarade's son that killed Immadi Narasinga at Penukonda. On p. 310, *Ibid.*, this person's name is given as Timapanarque or Timmappa Nāyaka. Codemarade is called Comdamara which clearly stands for Kondamāra.

34. See Nuniz's account, Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 312.

CHAPTER XVII

THE THIRD DYNASTY

VIRA NARASIMHA RĀYA I (?) 1501[1]-1502[2] A.D. (Narasinga Rāya IV)

The Tuluvas—The Twelfth Bahamani War—The King embraces Vaishnavism—Narasa's character—Varthema's description of Vijayanagar.

The Tuluvas

The Third Dynasty of Vijayangara is known by the name of Tuluva.[3] Tulu is a geographical subdivision of Karnātaka, roughly coinciding with the present South Kanara district. It seems that in former days the neighbouring taluks of Shimoga and Kadur districts of Mysore State also were considered parts of Tulu. The word Tuluva includes all the natives of the Tulu region. In a restricted sense, however, this word has been confined to the Bunts who form the majority of the cultivating class of the districts of North and South Kanara. Some of these Bunts prospering in trade have called themselves *shetties* or *shresties* and tried to raise themselves in the social scale. Although the later kings of the Tuluva Dynasty called themselves Yādavas of the Lunar line[4] and as having descended from Turvasu,[5] there is little doubt that they were related by blood to this class of *shetties*. Thimma,[6] the only known historical person of this House, was the first[7] to rise into prominence. This must have been in the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virupāksha. Iswara Nāika, his son,[8] by Devaki[9] identified himself with the fortunes of the Sāluvas and rose to a distinguished position under Sāluva Narasinga Rāya I. It was during his lifetime that his family moved from its native district and settled near Tekal[10] in the Kolār district. To Iswara were born by Bukkamma[11] or Bukkāmbika Nrisimha[12] or Narasa and Timma.[13] Of these the former was born at Magodu[14] in the Nagar taluk[15] while his father was in service in Shimoga district. The son also rose to be a general

under Sāluva Narasinga I,[16] and eclipsed his own father by his extraordinary military achievements.[17] During the reign of Sāluva's son, Immadi Narasinga, he became the Commander-in-Chief and prime minister till at last, as stated earlier, he usurped the throne and proclaimed himself Emperor of Vijayanagar.[18]

The Thirteenth Bahamani War—1502[19] A.D. middle[20]

The changes at Vijayanagar, related in the previous pages, had their repercussions. The Bahamani officers who were till then busy fighting first against their king and then among themselves, united once again to take advantage of the recent developments at the Hindu capital and benefit by it, if possible. Accordingly, Sultan Mahamood Shah found an excuse[21] to break peace with Vijayanagar, against which he marched in the middle of the year 1502 A.D.[22] Leaving his capital, he arrived at Hutgi[23] where a concentration of the forces of his Empire was ordered soon after. As a result of this, Mahmood was joined by the various nobles of the realm, such as Yoosoof Adil Khān of Bijāpur, Futteh-Oolla Imad-Ool-Mulk of Berar,[24] Mallik Ahmad Nizam-Oool-Mulk of Goonere, Mallik Dinar of Gulburga and Kooli-Kootb-Ool-Mulk of Telingāna, the last alone bringing with him thirty elephants, 3000 cavalry[25] and 10,000 infantry.[26] When the mobilization was complete, Mallik Ein-Ool-Mulk was put in charge of an advance detachment and ordered to proceed towards Vijayanagar by way of Gulburga.[27] The Sultan followed him by easy stages to Rāichoor, which was soon after besieged by his forces on all sides. According to Ferista,[28] the Hindus were forced to purchase peace by the sacrifice of the forts of Rāichoor and Mudgal and a payment of tribute.[29] These two defences the Sultan handed over to the charge of Yoosoof Adil Khān and returned home, without continuing the war any further.[30]

The King embraces Vaishnavism

It was somewhere about this time that another event of equal importance happened at Vijayanagar. This was the conversion of the king to Vaishnavism.[31] It happened thus. There lived at that time a great Srivaishnava ascetic by name Parānkusa Mahādesika,[32] the eighth abbot of the Ahobila monastery. He was a great recluse and also very learned. Coming to know of

this, the king went to him on foot and requested him in many ways to go to his city and to cure his daughter of a serious disease from which she was suffering. The abbot condescending, the Rāya conducted him in a beautiful palanquin and welcomed him into his capital amidst great honour and jubilation. The abbot having cured the patient, the king begged him for some favour. Equally moved by the Rāya's devotion, Parānkusa agreed to administer the Vaishnava rites and sacrament to him and take him into the sect.[33] In gratitude the new disciple presented the abbot with a number of elephants, horses, and other honours granting at the same time many villages for the maintenance of the worship of Narasimha, the diety of Ahobila.[34]

Narasa's character, etc.

Shortly after these event Narasa Nāyaka died[35]. Although no moral defence can be made out for his usurpation of his master's throne, yet his great military talents can hardly be ignored. He was one of the most distinguished generals of his day, being admired by such distant rulers as those of Mundu, Bidar and Mahoor[36]. Besides his military achievements, Narasa is well known for his patronage of men of letters also. It was during his time that the Telugu works *Pārijātāpaharanamu* by Nandi Timmanna and *Varāha Purānamu* by Ghanta Singayya and Nandi Mallayya were written and dedicated to him. Narasa had four sons[37], namely, Vira Narasimha by Tippāmba[38], Krishna by Nāgalāmbā[39], and Ranga and Achyuta by Obāmba[40].

Varthema's description of Vijayanagara[41]

Varthema, an Italian traveller, visiting Vijayanagar about the close of Narasa's reign writes thus: 'The city of Bisnagar [Vijayanagar] belongs to the king of Narasinga and is very large and strongly walled. It stands on the side of a mountain with three circles of walls, the outermost circle, 7 miles round. The site is beautiful and the air the best ever seen, and round the city are hunting places and fowling places. It seems a second paradise. The land is rich and there is much trade and every delicacy . . . The king is the richest I have ever heard off. His Brahmins say that he has 12,000 *paradoes* (£ 4,000) a day. He is always at war. He has 40,000 horsemen whose horses are worth 300 to 400

paradoes (£100 to £266), for horses are scarce. Besides these he has 400 elephants and some dromedaries. He is a great friend of the Christians and the Portuguese do him much . . . honour. He wears a cap of gold brocade, and when he goes to war [he has] a quilted dress of cotton, with an overgarment, full of golden piasters and hung with jewels. The ornaments of his horse are worth more than an Italian city. He rides out with three or four kings, many lords and five or six thousand horse . . .[42]

NOTES

1. Sewell: *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, page 97 at Basinepalle dated S. S. 1423, *Durmati* (1501 A.D.) 'Vira Narasimharāya' of Vijayanagar.

2. Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.* Vol. I, page 128 at Palagiri in S. S. 1424 (A.D. 1502) *Dundubhi*, a grant by Narasimha Rāya of Vijayanagar.

3. *Chikka Deva Rāya Vamsāvali* p. 2, Editors: S. G. Narasimhāchār and M. A. Rāmānuja Iyengār (1895).

4. *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam* by Rājanātha Kavi, *sarga* I, verse 17 and Bhāgavata Champu by Dindima Rājanātha Kavi of the Dindima family. *Op. Cit. sarga* I, verse 18. This Dindima seems to be different from another of the same name who was a contemporary of the poet Srınātha. Perhaps he was his grandson.

5. *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam:* For the Tuluvas' decent from Turuvasu, see Nandi Timmanna's *Pārijātāpaharanamu, āsvāsa* I, verse 8, page 106.

6. Timmanna Kavi's *Kannada Mahābhārata*, known also as *Krishna Rāya Bhārata, Shāntiparva*, verse 7. According to this work Timma was, in his day, a warrior of 'unequalled valour' and physical and administrative power (*asambhujabala*), though details are not mentioned.

7. *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam, sarga* I, verses 23 and 25, and *Varadāmbāparinayam* by Tirumalāmba, daughter of Sabka or Salaga, and sister of Pedda or Hucheta Tirumala and Pina, Chinna or Chikka Tirumala, brothers-in-law of Achyuta Deva Rāya. See extract 54, p. 172 of S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. Cit.*; also *Bhāgavata Champu* by Rājanātha Kavi (perhaps of the Dindıma family in *Sources, Op. Cit.* Extract 55, p. 176.

8. *Achyuta Rāyābhyudayam, sarga*, verse 25; *Pārijātapāharanamu, āsvāsa* I, verse 10; and Timmanna Kavi's *Kannada Mahābhārata, Shāntiparva*, verses 7 and 8.

9. *Varadāmbikāparinayam* in extract 54, p. 172 of *Sources, Op. Cit.*, and *Bhāgavata Champu, Op. Cit.* in extract 55, verse 16 on p. 177 of the *Sources, Op. Cit.* In the footnote on p. 176, extract 55 of *ibid*, the editor says that Rājanātha Dindima, *Kavi-Sārvabhouma*, etc., and author of *Sāluvābhyudayam* was the son of Arungirinātha or Sonādrınātha and so one and the same person. There was also another Dindima, whom the poet Srinātha is said to have vanquished in a literary disputation and who lived during Deva Rāya I's reign.

10. We have to arrive at this conclusion because of his epigraphs appearing first in the above place.

11. *Achyutarāyābhyudayam, sarga* I, verse 27 and *Varadāmbikāparinayam* by Oduva Tirumālamba in extract 54, page 172 of *Sources, Op. Cit.* and also *Bhāgavata Champu* by Rājanātha Kavi, son of Sonagirinātha, canto I, verse 18, extract 55, p. 177, of *Sources, Op. Cit.* According to the latter source Timma's wife was Devaki. Isvara Nāyaka's wife was called Lakkamāmba (*Pārijātā-paharanamu, āsvāsa* I, verse 11).

12. Timmaṇṇa Kavi's *Kannada Mahābhārata, Shāntiparva*, verse 8, refers to Narasimha by the more familiar name of Narasa, while verses 9 and 10, attribute many high qualities of war and peace to him. However, his mother's name is not mentioned. See also *Pārijātāpaharanamu* in Telugu, *āsvāsa* I, verse 27. In verses 12 and 28 of the same work, Narasimha is called Narasa; see *Achyutarāyābhyudayam, sarga* I, verse 27.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Sagar 55: *E. C.* Vol. VIII, p. 189 at Govardhanagiri.

15. Nagar 7: *E. C.* Vol. VIII, page 240 at Dodda Māgadi. This is another place of the same name in Thirthahalli taluk.

16. See *Simana Sāngatya.* Also Nuniz's Chronicle in Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 308-314.

17. See the Kannada work *Krishna Rāya Mahābhārata, Shāntiparva*, verse 18.

18. *Pārijātapaharanamu, āsvāsa* I, verse 12, Madrās edition, p. 3; also Nuniz's Chronicle, *Op. Cit.*, p. 314.

19. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 348.

20. Major King: *Burhan-i-Maasir*, p. 137.

21. This was about the time when Narasa Nāyaka had supreme power. The causes are not known.

22. *Ibid.*, Major King, *Op. Cit.*, p. 137.

23. This place is about 10 miles south-east of Sholāpur. It is spelt as Ooty in the text of Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 348 and Arki in Major King, *Op. Cit.*, p. 137.

24. These details are noted by Ferista only. Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 348 but not in *Burhan-i-Massir* (*Op. Cit.*).

25. *Burhan-i-Massir* says the number was 500 Arab cavalry (*Op. Cit.*, p. 137), which is too small to believe.

26. *Ibid.*, gives it as 5,000.

27. It is given in the text as Koolburga (Briggs: *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, p. 348); but *Burhan-i-Massir* mentions by way of Kalhad, that is, Karhād, in Sātara district and Kolhāpur (King, *Op. Cit.*, p. 138).

28. *Burhan-i-Massir* states that the Hindus promised to pay only the revenues of Mudgal, but ceded some *paraganas* of Raichoor.

29. This may be the indemnity paid in instalments.

30. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 348-349.

31. He seems to have been a Jain in earlier life.

32. In S. K. Aiyangār's *Sources, Op. Cit.* the date seems to differ from extract No. 74 Ahobilam inscription of Sri Ranga Rāya, p. 233.

33. If not Narasa and Isvara, Timma or his father appear to have been Jainas by persuasion as clear from their kinsmen being so (Sagar 55: *E. C.* Vol.

VIII, page 189). This inference is supported by verse 4, in *āsvāsa* II of *Krishna Rāya Vijayamu* wherein some Sri Vaishnava Brahmans who were in Vijayanagara, the capital, during the coronation of Krishna Deva Rāya are made to say that the king's father and grand-father went through the sacrament of *Chakrānkana* at their hands.

34. *Sri Sannidhi Guruparampara* (In Tamil), pp. 55-58.

35. According to S. K. Aiyangar: (*Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, page 76, Vol. II of Aiyangar's *Ancient India and Her South Indian History and Culture*. Vol. II, he died in 1505 A.D., but Krishnarājapet 64: *E.C.* Vol. VI, part II (1898), page 180 at Santebāchahalli (inscription date 1503 A.D.) and inscription 357 of 1912 clearly establish his death date as 1503 A.D.

Aiyangar's *Little Known Chapter* as an independent publication could not be traced. It is reprinted as Chapter II in his *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. II, (Poona 1941).

36. S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. Cit.* extract No. 32 *Varahāpurānamu*, page 88.

37. According to Nuniz it was five. See Sewell: *Op. Cit.* p. 314. Nuniz calls them Bushalras, that is, Bhujabala Rāya, one of the titles by which Vira Narasimha is known; Achyuta Rāya, Ramygupa or Rangappa, the father of Sadāsiva; and Onamysyuaya, who this refers to is unintelligible,

38. Belur 79: *E. C.* Vol. V, part II, Hassan 6: *E. C.* Vol. V, part I, page 4 in Hassan.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *E. C.* Vol. IV, part II, page 219 at Honnenahaḷḷi.

41. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 118.

42. Badger's *Varthema, Op. Cit.*, pp. 120, 131.

CHAPTER XVIII

VIRA NARASIMHA RĀYA II—1503[1]-1509 A.D.[2]

A Challenge to the Tuluva Supremacy—The Fate of Vira Narasimha's expedition—The First Pact of Vijayanagar with the Portuguese—The Thirteenth Bahamani War—Vira Narasimha's last scenes—Vijayanagar during Vira Narasimha's reign.

A Challenge to Tuluva Supremacy

After Narasa Nāika's death, Vira Narasimha, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's titles and proclaimed himself emperor. Like his father he also was not fated to enjoy a peaceful throne. A son of Immadi Narasinga, Devappa Nāyaka by name, still lived and ruled near Doddaballāpur[3]. Either in sympathy with the surviving Sāluva representative or on their own behalf, a good many subordinates of the Empire again revolted and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the new dynasty. The governor of Ādoni and the chief of Srirangapatna refused submission and payment of tribute. Bhairarasu Odeyar, chief of Kalasa—Kārkala, and Chick Rāya Odeyar, chief of Ummattoor[4], on the other hand, aimed at independence, the last even proclaiming himself 'King of Kings[5]' and 'Lord of Penukonda'. A challenge of such gravity could not be lightly passed over without endangering the interests of the dynasty and the stability of the empire. The suppression of the Ādoni chief[6] fell to the charge of Rāma Rāja, a son of Āraveeti Bukka and a loyal adherent of the Tuluva House. This rebel was soon overpowered, captured and handed over to Vira Narasimha. Against the rest, the king led an expedition in person.

The Fate of Vira Narasimha's expedition[7]—1505 A.D.[8]

Having left the capital, Vira Narasimha appears to have first proceeded against Ummatoor. The chief of this place, Depaṇṇa Odeyar, a Ganga by descent, had been a vassal of Vijayanagar for many years. But Deepaṇṇa dying lately, his son, Malla Rayā

refused to submit to the overlordship of Vira Narasimha, and had even the audacity to assume the title of king of kings and emperor of Penukonda. Vira Narasimha closely invested his place. But though he spent three months before its walls, he was no nearer success. He, therefore, raised the siege and turned to the attack of Srirangapatna. This town was then being ruled by a son of the chief whom Narasa Nāyaka had reinstated. When the news of the arrival of the imperial army reached him, he sent word to the chiefs of Ummattoor and Talkād and prepared to resist his overlord. With the help of his fellow rebels, he even sallied out of his fort and gave the invader an open battle. In this case also the advantage having finally rested with the rebels, the king withdrew with his army. It was perhaps on his way home that he marched against Bhairarasu Odeyar. In this campaign his arms were carried as far west as Mangalore[9] where he encamped. But Bhairarasu[10] having fled, the Vijayanagar army retired homewards after sometime. Thus, on the whole, the expedition ended in a clear failure, inasmuch as it left the rebellious fires smouldering and the Tuluva power still shaky.

The First Treaty of Vijayanagar with the Portuguese—1505*

We referred above to the discovery of the Atlantic route by the Portuguese and Vasco-Da-Gama's first arrival on the Malabār coast in 1498 A.D. After this it became a regular habit for these people to visit India almost every year. Pedro Alvarz Cabral called in 1500 A.D., Goaoda Nova in the next year, Vasco-Da-Gama again the 1502 A.D. Alfonso De Alboquerque in 1503 A.D., Lepo-Soarwz-de Algabaria in 1504 A.D. and Francisco de-Almeida in September 1505 A.D. When the news of Almeida's arrival at Anjdir reached Vijayanagar, Vira Narasimha lost no time in despatching an ambassador with rich presents. The Portuguese Viceroy gave him a prompt audience on board one of his ships and the terms were freely discussed. Almeida communicated to the Hindu ambassador King Manoel's anxiety with regard to the building of forts at Anjdir and Bhatkal. The Vijayanagar representative expressed his master's desire to come to any agreement which would favour the trade between his subjects and the

* Compare B. S. Sastry: 'The First Decade of Portuguese—Vijayanagar Relations', (*JIH*, LII, 1974, pp. 147-156). (Ed.)

Portuguese. He also added that the Viceroy had been granted permission to build a fort in any part of the Empire except at Bhatkal, which had been ceded to another. Finally, to tighten the bond of union between the two kings, the king of Vijayanagar offered his sister,[11] a princess of rare beauty, in marriage to the prince of Portugal. What became of these offers finally we do not know. But, it is possible that some at least of the terms were agreed to and a treaty advantageous to both parties concluded.

The Fourteenth Bahamani War—1506 A.D.

Scarcely was the treaty concluded then another war broke out with the Bahamani State[12]. The causes for this conflict are not clear. All that is known is that in 1506 A.D., Mohamad Shāh ordered a concentration of all his forces at his capital and declared war on Vira Narasimha and proceeded towards Vijayanagar. This was the last occasion when all his subordinates united under his banner. Vira Narasimha also gathered his forces and settled to oppose his enemy. On the arrival of the Sultan at Dewly[13] he was engaged by the Hindu army in which Pattikonda Rangappa Odeyar, the chief of Conjeevaram, played a conspicuous part[14]. In the bloody battle which followed, Mallik Koolb-Ool-Mulk gained some advantage in the beginning by breaking through the left wing of his opponents. But Mohamad Shāh in the centre gave way and being thrown from his horse, was nearly trodden to death and considered as killed by the Hindus. He was, however, fortunately discovered by some of his troops, and placed in a palanquin, was conveyed to the tent of Mir Looff Colla, a son of Shāh Mohib Oolla and an officer of the king. The Sultan's insignia and royal umbrella were captured and he was forced to retire to his capital. Thus ended the last Bahamani War, leaving Vijayanagar victorious, though this event is cleverly passed over by the Mussalmān chroniclers.

Vira Narasimha's Last Days[15]

Vira Narasimha lived for three more years after this victory, but little is known of the events of this period. At last, falling ill in 1509 A.D., he sent for his minister Sāluva Timmarasa and told him that, though his younger[16] brother Krishṇa was perhaps by right the next king, he desired that he should be set aside and

his own son, then eight years old, be placed on the throne. To make sure of this arrangement, he commanded the minister to put out the eyes of prince Krishṇa and show them to him, so that there might be no quarrels in the kingdom after his death. Being at a loss how to act, Timma called Krishṇa aside and communicated to him the king's orders. At this, Krishṇa replied that he had no desire to be king or anything in the kingdom, even if it should come to him by right and so did not deserve to have his eyes put out by his own brother. On the other hand, he wished to become a recluse and spend his days in contemplation. Krishṇa being over 20 years[17] at that time and so better fitted to rule than the king's young son, Timma, moved both by humanity and the interests of the State, sent for a she-goat and getting her eyes put out, showed them to his master, who, soon after, died contented.

Vijayanagar during Vira Narasimha's Reign

Duarte Barbosa, a cousin of Magellen, who was in the Indian Ocean in 1508-9 A.D., records thus of Vijayanagar[18]:

'Forty five leagues from these mountains [i.e., Western Ghats] there is a very large city, which is called Bijanaguer, a very populous city and surrounded on one side by a good wall, and on the other by a mountain. This city is on level ground. The king Narasinga always resides in it . . . He has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts. . . There are also in the city many other palaces of great lords who live there and all the other houses of the place are covered with thatch and the streets and squares are wide. These are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds. There is an infinite trade in this city . . . In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Ceylon, and in the country itself many diamonds are found because there is a mine of them in the kingdom of Deccani. There are also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there to be brought from Ormuz and Ciel, also silk brocades, scarlet cloth and corals . . . This king has a house in which he meets governors and his officers in council upon the affairs of the realm . . . They come in very rich litters on men's shoulders . . . Many litters and many horsemen always stand at the door of the palace and the king keeps at all times 9,000

elephants, and more than 20,000 horses all of which, elephants and horses, are bought with his own money . . . This king has more than 10,000 men, both horses and foot to whom he gives pay. . . When the king dies four or five hundred women burn themselves with him. . . '

NOTES

1. Maddagiri 59: *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 184 at Handaralu.
2. Mālur 6 *E. C.* Vol. X, page 188 at Tekal.
3. Doddaballapur 42: *E. C.* Vol. IX, page 84 at Puttaiyana Agrahāra (Honnāvara hobli).
4. This is about 25 miles south east of Mysore town.
5. See Kankanahaḷḷy 39: *E. C.* Vol. IX, page 154 at Maralebekuppa.
6. Shimoga 83 of 1587 A.D. : *E. C.* Vol. VII, part I, page 61 at Kudli, says that Ārāviti Rāmarāja conquered in battle the Ādvāni hill fort though it had 70,000 horse and an army of foot, and put to flight Kasappudaya, who vied with Indra in power. 'The lofty Kandamanavalidurga he conquered by the might of his army so that his prosperity was proclaimed aloud'. Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi 39 of 1589 A.D. *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 144 in Jodi Tirumalapur, says that Ārāvidi Rāmarāja by the might of his arm conquering in battle the army of Sapada, which was supported by 70,000 horse, captured Ādvānidurga, and driving away by his power Kasappudaya who vied with Indira in glory, captured Kandanavolidurga. According to *Rāmarājyamu* in S.K. Aiyangār: *Sources, Op. Cit.*, p. 102, this Ārāviti Rāmarāja is said to have marched against the foot of Kandanavolu which was in the occupation of a chief called Savai and laid siege to it. Each unit of his army during this siege is said to have consisted of one elephant, 20 horses, 60 archers, 60 swordsmen and 60 spearmen, and of such units there were 3500 in his army. He defeated Bibbi and capturing Kondanavole, made it his own capital. He defeated Chief Kāsappa Odeyar who had his headquarters at Ādvāni and drove him from the place. He is also said to have captured the army of the redoubtable Savai and to have conquered the Saptānga of Savai Bibbi (*Ibid.*, page 103). *Bālabhāgavatam* by Kouermatha Kavi, page 204, also says that Rāma Rāja marched against the chief of Kocha and defeating him completely captured his fortress Ādvāni.
7. This para is mostly based on *Kongu Desa Rājakkal.*
8. Gundlupet 67: *E. C.* Vol. IV, part II, page 77 at Honakarahaḷḷi. This inscription notices Narasimha's presence at Srirangapatna in 1505-1506 A.D. So I guess the date of the invasion also might be 1505-6 A.D.

As *Kongu Desa Rājakkal* gives *Prabhava* (1507-8 A.D.) for the capture of Srirangapatam, this falls within Narasimha's reign. As the general is said to have spent one year we get 1506-7 A.D. for beginning of the siege. Note Narasimha is said to have spent 3 months before Ummattoor (see *Gurijāda, Op. Cit.*, pp. 493-4).

As Gundlupet 67 of 1505-6 A.D. *E. C.* Vol. VI part II, page 77 at Honakanahalli notices Narasimha's presence at Seringapatam where he makes a grant, we may conclude that the expedition began in 1505 A.D. and was continued in 1506

A.D. and that Krishṇa Devarāya also took part in it. For the subject matter of this expedition see *Kongu Desa Rājakkal.*

9. Moodagere 41: *E. C.* Vol. VI, page 154 at Kalasa.

10. *Ibid.* This chief is called Immadı Bairāram Odeyar.

11. Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I.

12. See the anonymous author's *History of Golkonda*, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 350-1.

13. Perhaps Deodroog: *Burhan-i-Massir* gives it as *divāni.*

14. See pp. 201-202 of *The Aristocracy of South India* by Vadivelu.

15. If we can attach any value to the date *Prabhava* given in *Kongu Desa Rājakkal*, accordıng to which the conquest of Sivanaamudram, Coorg and Malabar by Krishna Deva Rāya took place in this year, then it must be under the orders of Vira Narasimha Rāya. The year *Prabhava* will be *circa* 1507-8 A.D. See details of this expedition on pp. 493-495 in Gurijada's *Telugu Poets.* But it is probable that the above date is wrong. The 2nd expedition against Seringapatam (Ummattoor) is noticed by *Kongu Desa Rājakkal.* The date given is *Prabhava* 1507-8 (Gurijada, *Op. Cit.*, p. 494). Also see Hunsur 17 (1506): *E. C.* Vol. IV, part II, page 136 at Periyāpatna and Malavalli 95: (1506).

16. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part III, p. 132, No. 121.

17. One proof of this is in the inscriptions which tell us that he was married early in his reign. For instance, Belur 79 of 1512 A.D. *E. C.* Vol. V, part I, page 151 in Belur, refers to Chinnā Devi, evidently the queen of Krishṇa Rāya.

18. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 129.

CHAPTER XIX

KRISHNA DEVA RĀYA (1509[1]-1530[2] A.D.)

Political conditions at Krishṇa's accession—The Second Portuguese embassy—The Year 1510 A.D.—The Right Opportunity —The Third Portuguese embassy—The Capture of Sivanasamudra —The South Indian expedition—The Third Adil Shāhi War— The First Kutub Shāhi War—The Battle of the Krishṇa—The Battle of Pangal—The Fourth Portuguese Embassy—The Capture of Udayagiri—Turmoil in the Bahamani Kingdom—The Second pact with the Portuguese—The Battle of Jamkhandi—The Capture of Kalyān—The Capture of Gulbarga—The Siege of Kondaveedu—The Battle of Meduru—The Capture of Kondaveedu—The Capture of Kondapalli—The Destruction of Bidar— The Second Kutub Shāhi War— The Battle with Shitab Khān— The Conquest of Kalinga—Peace with the Gajapathi—His South Indian pilgrimage—The Struggle for Kondaveedu—New reforms in Revenue Settlement—The Fourth Adil Shāhi War—The Raichoor expedition—The Battle of the Krishna—The Fall of Raichoor—The Results of Victory—The Second Adil Shāhi embassy—The Sack of Bijāpur—The Third Adil Shāhi Embassy —The Destruction of Gulburga—Goa expedition—The inter-Shāhi wars—The Abdication of Krishṇa Deva Rāya—Imprisonment of Sāluva Timmaiah—Nāgaṇṇa Naika's rebellion—Timma Danāyaka's revolt—The Hand of Fate—The Third Kutub Shāhi War—The King's Last Campaign—The Death of Krishṇa— His character—His court—Vijayanagar during Krishṇa's reign.

Krishṇa succeeded to the throne after his brother's death[3] under circumstances already related[4]. He was a son of Narasa Nāyaka[5] by his wife Nāgāji, Nagamāmba,[6] Nāgalāmbā or Nāgalādevi[7]. His first act on coming to the throne was to secure his position free from all plots and intrigues of the rival claimants. With this object he sent away his nephew and two brothers,

Achyuta and Ranga, as prisoners to the fortress of Chandragiri[8]. His next act was to signalise his accession to power in 1510 A.D.,[9] by building the eastern tower of the Virupāksha temple at Hampi.

Political Conditions at Krishna's accession

It was fortunate for the Empire that one so able, so wise and so gifted should become its head at this time. For over half a century since the death of Devarāya the Great, it had been steadily declining in importance. Of prestige it had little and of power it had less. Too frequent dynastic changes had cost her dear. The few advantages gained by Sāluva Narasinga and Narasa Nāyaka had been neutralised by the weak reigns of their successors. Towards the north, the imperial frontier had been pushed back from the Krishṇā to the Tungabhadrā; Goa had been lost; and also Belgaum. In the east, the province of Udayagiri had been wrested from Vijayanagar and her boundary terminated at the foot of the ghats. Nor were matters better nearer home. Even over this shrunken area, her supremacy was not undisputed. Some chiefs of Mysore ignored her sovereignty and more than one of the Viceroys of the south defied her orders. A fortress so close to the capital as Penukonda had been seized by a petty vassal, who had the audacity to lay claim to the imperial throne as his by right. This was Ganga Rāja, the chief of Ummattur.*

It is true that the Bahamani Empire was in its last stages of distintegration. But, in its stead, two new and aggressive powers had arisen on the northern borders of Vijayanagar. The first was ruled over by Yoosoof Adil Khān and the second by Kuli Kutub Khān[10]. No doubt, a third power had also made its appearance in the enterprising Portuguese; but it was not yet well established to be of any substantial use to Vijayanagar. Instead, it even stood in danger of being totally wiped out of India, as a result of a great league, just then in the course of formation, between the Zamorin and Yoosoof Adil Khān on the one hand and the Mussalmān powers of Egypt and Turkey on the other. To this end Yoosoof was even fitting out a fleet and making grand preparations at Goa. Kuli Kutub Khān also was equally threatening in his attitude towards Vijayanagar by carrying frequent

* This chief is surmised to be Nanjarāja, *Vide E.C.*, III (Rev. Ed. 1974) Introduction p. 12, (Ed.)

campaigns across its eastern frontier. So, both necessity and sentiment impelled Krishṇa to immediate action. Yet, he hesitated to precipitate any new policy till political conditions appeared more favourable.

The Second Portuguese Embassy, 1510[11] *A.D.*

While affairs stood like this, coming events cast their shadows from an unexpected quarter. This was in the form of an embassy from the Portuguese. It was noticed in the previous pages how these people were straining their wits to secure independent trading places along the western coast of India. But, all their efforts had so far been unsuccessful on account of the hostility of the Arab merchants. Learning that the Zamorin and Yoosoof Adil Khān had entered into a league to destroy their rising sea power, Alfonzo Alboquerque, the new Viceroy, decided to wreak his vengeance on the former. With this object he attacked his capital, Calicut; but, he was disastrously beaten and driven off.

It was while in this helpless situation that Alboquerque turned his hopes towards Vijayanagar for help. The bearer of his message was a Franciscan friar, by name Fray Luiz. This person travelled from Cannanore carrying with him his master's proposals and presents. On his arrival at the Vijayanagara court, he was kindly received by Krishṇa Deva Rāya. To the enquiries made about his mission, the ambassador replied that his master had orders from the king of Portugal to render honour and willing service to all the Hindu kings of India and wage relentless war against the Mussalmāns. In obedience to this command, Alboquerque was willing to help Vijayanagar whenever and as often as its king desired him to do so. As a first condition of this arrangement the Viceroy proposed to Krishna the co-operation of his forces in defeating the Zamorin, who was their enemy. After his capture, Alboquerque promised to assist the Rāya in his struggle against his Mussalmān neighbours, by capturing Goa and cutting off the supply of foreign horses on the strength of which alone they made successful wars against his kingdom.

* Compare P. M. John : 'The Portuguese on the Deccan (Konkan) Coast: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (*JIH*, XLVI (1) 1968, pp. 65-88. M. D. Longworth: *The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the 16th Century;* and Dennison Ross: The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517, (*JRAS*, 1921, pp. 1-28, and 544-562), (Ed.)

The Portuguese would also guarantee him, he continued, a monopoly of Ormuz horses which they would deliver to him at Bhatkal or any other port that Krishṇa might suggest. In return for all these, Alboquerque requested the king to permit the Portuguese to make a settlement and erect a factory in any Vijayanagar port between Bhatkal and Mangalore. These conditions, though inviting enough, Krishna had no desire to accept and thus commit himself to any definite undertaking with the foreigners, as he was just then at peace with the Mussalmāns. This was more so as some of his councillors were in favour of an alliance with Yoosoof Adil Khān. He, therefore, gave Luiz only a general answer, keeping his offer open for a future occasion.

The Year 1510 A.D.

The year 1510 A.D. was very eventful in the history of the Deccan. The death of Yoosoof Adil Khān in its early months[12] set the still waters of political life on the move. At Ahmadnagar, the able Ahmad Nizam Shāh having died in 1508 A.D., his young son, Boorham, only ten years old[13] in 1510 A.D., succeeded him. As a result of the regency consequent upon this, factions had arisen in his court. While Imad-Ool-Mulk of Berār took advantage of the youth of the Nizām Shāh and invaded his territories. Ameer Bareed, who had long been waiting to crush the Adil Shāh, at once marched on Bijāpur.

Although Bijāpur, like Ahmadnagar, was fortunately saved from an almost certain disaster,[14] troubles had risen for her in another quarter. This was from the Portuguese with regard to Goa. The failure of his recent embassy to Krishṇa had not in the least disheartened their Viceroy. Alboquerque now turned for aid from the suzerain to the subordinates of Vijayanagar. Of these, one Timmayya of Honnāwar, a sea captain but a pirate according to the Portuguese, offered his services in return for certain concessions. According to this, Alboquerque agreed to hand over Goa to him after its capture, if he paid an annual subsidy of 20,000 *paradaos*[15] to the Portuguese. Thus, he arranged matters through Timmayya who, in turn, intrigued with the discontented Hindus of the place to secure their willing submission. The garrison being in arrears of pay and consequently not very enthusiastic in its defence, even its Mussalmān governor consent-

ed to play the traitor in return for a bribe.[16] When matters were ready in this way, Alboquerque set sail from Mirjan and attacked Goa from the sea side. As Timmayya also co-operated with him from the land side, the place soon fell into Portuguese hands in March 1510 A.D.

Angry at this breach of friendly relations, Ismail Adil Khān sent, soon after, an embassy to the king of Vijayanagar, complaining against his subject's activities and demanding his help in the recovery of the lost port. Krishṇa replied that, as Goa formerly belonged to his kingdom and was taken by the Mussalmāns later on, he was not sorry that his friends, the Portuguese, came in possession of it. As for the help, which Ismail had asked from him, Krishṇa said that he would, instead, render it all to the Portuguese in defending the place. Irritated all the more by this attitude of Vijayanagar, Ismail Adil Khān laid siege to Goa unaided by any and recovered it a month after in May 1510 A.D. by driving out both Alboquerque and Timmayya.

The discomfited Viceroy retired to Cannānore, where he set about organising a league of the coastal chiefs for the recovery of the place. The expected opportunity offered itself in November of the same year. The Adil Khān was at that time engaged in a war with the other Bahamani nobles; much of his lands had been wrested from him; and he had so far advanced into the interior as to be unable to return to the relief of Goa in time, and, in fact, he had even sent for some garrison from Goa. Finding circumstances so favourable, the viceroy again sounded Timmayya, who, readily offered his services. In addition to this, Sāluva Malla,[17] chief of Honnawar and nephew[18] of Timmayya, also promised to place his resources at Alboquerque's disposal. Even the Emperor went a step further this time in issuing instructions to his vassal, Bairarasa of Gersoppa, to render all possible help to the Portuguese. Thus strengthened from all sides, Alboquerque once again laid siege to Goa and became its master finally in November 1510 A.D. As a reward for his services, Timmayya was made the chief Alguizil of the kingdom of Goa, and all the lands belonging to it were farmed out to him.

The Right Opportunity

The fall of Goa was followed by events even more favourable to Vijayanagar. At the suggestion of Kamāl Khān, the regent

of Bijāpur, Ameer Bareed entered into a secret treaty[19] with the former to dethrone their respective masters and divide their territories between themselves. According to this arrangement, Bareed was to get all the lands of Dustur Dinar, such as Gulburga, Alundi, Ganjowty and Nandidroog as far as the banks of the Bhimā; Kamāl, on the other hand, was to retain Bijāpur, Konkan, Mudgal,[20] and Raichoor[21] and reduce, if he chose, Sholāpur. In conformity with this arrangement Bareed confined his sovereign, Mahmood Shāh, to his palace and marched on Gulburga. Likewise, Kamāl also imprisoned Ismael Adil Shāh and his mother, Bābuji Khanum, and marched on Sholāpur.

While these were in progress, news arrived at Vijayanagar that, after the capture and fortification of Goa by the Portuguese, the Hindus of Belgaum had risen in rebellion against their Mussalmān masters and after driving out the Bijāpur garrison from the place had declared themselves subjects of Vijayanagar[22]. To add to these, Timmayya and the king of Gersoppa wrote letters to Krishṇa that, if he wished to regain possession of Goa, he had only to send them some troops, on whose arrival they would deliver the city over to them. Nothing could be more tempting than such a combination of circumstances. While the statesmen of Vijayanagar were considering the course of action they should choose, a fresh embassy from the Portuguese arrived at the capital.

The Third Portuguese Embassy 1511[23]

Fully conscious of the moral effect of his final triumph over Bijāpur, Alboquerque made one more effort to win over Vijayanagar to his side. With this object in view, soon after his second capture of Goa, he sent a certain Gasper Chanoca[24] to Vijayanagar in order to find out if he could at least induce its king to attack Bijāpur and to make friends with the Portuguese. Krishṇa accepted the offer this time, more so as he had come to know that Alboquerque was trying to seek an alliance with Ismael Adil Shāh as an alternative. He, therefore, immediately sent back two ambassadors with some valuable presents to Goa fully empowering them to conclude a treaty of friendship and arrange the terms of trade in horses. They carried the message that the Rāya's personal help and the resources of his kingdom were at the Viceroy's call whenever he desired them. Thus securing his flank and rear by

diplomacy, Krishṇa Devarāya at last set his foot on the war path.

The Capture of Sivanasamudra[25]*: 1512 A.D.**

But before he set out, he sent for his Boya[26] nobles and entertained them as well as all men of the eighteen Kappanas with a sumptuous banquet at his capital. Then, he left Vijayanagar with all the paraphernalia of war at the head of 50000 foot and 2000 horse. His attention was first necessarily turned towards his Ummattoor vassal. This chief had not only beaten back a former expedition under Vira Narasimha but had lately grown so insolent as to seize Penukonda and even lay claims to the imperial throne. When the news of the approaching army reached him, Malla Rāja, for that was his name,[27] retired to the stronghold of Sivanasamudra[28] with all his family and treasure. This he fortified and filled with men and munitions. On the arrival of the imperial forces, many auxilaries joined Krishṇa against the rebel. Of these, the services of the chief of Srirangapatna, between whom and Malla Rāja old enmity existed, was of considerable assistance to him.[29]

Soon, a siege was laid to the rebel's retreat in all earnestness. But, it was not before nearly a year was over that any considerable progress was made.[30] The rebel fought stoutly and even desperately as he knew well the issues at stake, but the place was at last taken by storm. Having secured the fort and the treasures it contained,[31] Krishṇa detached portions of his army to subdue the surrounding provinces of Coorg, Malabār and South India.[32] Sāluva Timmayya, the leader of one of these expeditions, returned to headquarters shortly after taking Ummattoor,[33] the Ganga capital. Reaching Srirangapatna,[34] Krishṇa installed Kāme Gowda and Veerappa Gowda[35] as his agents over a part of the newly conquered tracts and raised one of them to the dignity of Chikka Rāya or Prince, a rank till then held by the Ummattoor chief.[36]

The South Indian Expedition: 1512 A.D.

The army that was despatched to South India is stated to have numbered 100,000.[37] The general in command of it was

* There is also a view that this was captured sometime before 1510 A.D. (Ed).

Vijayappa Nāika,[38] along with Tupāki Krishṇappa Nāika, Vijaya Rāghava Nāika and Venkatappa Nāika. Leaving Mysore territory Vijayappa Nāika first reached Vellore. Here he was visited by the chiefs of Chittoor and Tondamandala. Having settled the amount of tribute these had to pay, he moved on to Gingi[39] where he halted and called upon the chiefs of Chola, Pāndya and Chera countries to submit. The chiefs of Tirichurapally, Madurai and Tirumagar agreed to pay their stipulated amounts and to acknowledge their loyalty to Vijayanagar. For further safety, the newly conquered country was divided into three provinces and placed under the charge of three imperial officers. Among them Krishṇappa Nāika[40] was stationed at Gingi to look after the territory between Nellore and the river Coleron.* Thus was the influence of the imperial power re-established over southern India, and the country yielding a revenue of nearly three crores secured.

The Third Adil Shāhi War: 1512[41]-1513 A.D.

It must be about this time that the news of the failure of the Kamal-Bareed plot reached Krishṇa. Learning that the former had lost his life in an attempt to usurp his master's throne and that the latter had retired from his siege of Gulburga, the Rāya thought it was a good opportunity to recover the lost possessions from the hands of the Adil Shāh. He, therefore, hurried north towards the Bijāpur frontier. Halting on his way at Shivaganga,[42] he paid his homage to Gangādhareswara, the presiding Deity of the place, and in token of his recent successes distributed gifts. Journeying further north, he passed by Ikkeri where he was joined by Sankaṇṇa Nāika[43] with his troops. At the news of the advance of his army, many of the Bijāpur garrisons on the border deserted their stations and fled. Krishṇa, therefore, easily introduced his own troops into forts such as Mudgal, Addanki and Advāni reaching at last Rāichoor.[44] Here he lay encamped before its walls for a time. But Ismael Adil Shāh being otherwise engaged and thus unable to send any relief, it soon surrendered[45] to Vijayanagar. Leaving his own garrisons in the places thus captured, the Rāya led his forces towards the Golkonda frontier.[46]

* Compare C. S. Srinivasachari : *A History of Gingi and its Naikas*. Annamalainagar, 1942 (Ed.)

The First Kutub Shāhi War: 1512[47]

Kuli Kutub Khān, the Bahamani officer of Telingāṇa, had just them[48] declared his independence and was extending his dominions in all directions. After reducing Rājakonda and capturing its ruler, Venkatappa Nāika, he laid siege to Devarakonda, and when it fell after a long siege, he reduced its palaces and temples to ashes. It was this extension of his power towards the south that brought him into conflict with Vijayanagara. Either because of Krishṇa Deva Rāya's sympathy with the sufferings of his fellow Hindus or the proximity of Kutub Shāh's dangerous activities to the frontiers of his own kingdom, this move on Golkonda's part offered enough cause for a declaration of war.

The Battle of the Krishṇa[49]*: (?) 1512 A.D.*

Accordingly, Krishṇa marched at the head of 30,000 horse and 300,000 foot. In the course of this, much of the Kutub Shāhi border lands was overrun by the Hindu forces. This news reaching Golkonda, its king hurried with his troops to the southern banks of the river Krishṇa in order to prevent the Rāya's progress any further. Contingents from Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar[50] also appeared to have joined him at this time. The combined strength of the Shāhi kings is said to have been 1000 elephants, 100,000 *pendars*, 100,000 Deccan Mussalmāns and 100,000 Bondela (? Rajput) auxiliaries. The Vijayanagar army is estimated at 600,000 foot. In the action that followed, Pemmasāni Rāmalinga Naidu, the Kamma chief of the Gandikota family, distinguished himself for great gallantry. He led the attack and, entering the enemy's camp, cut their tent ropes and put everything into disorder. The season being summer, the enemy elephants, desiring cool breeze, got out of control and ran into the river flowing behind. Their stampede created a panic in the Mussalmān ranks, into which the Rāya was not slow to pour the full strength of his main army. The result was a total loss to the panic-stricken foe. Besides thousands killed in actual combat, many lost their lives in trying to swim across the river then in high floods. Only a few escaped on elephants and barges to their homes.

The Battle of Pangal[51]*: 1512 A.D.*

Taking advantage of this success, Krishṇa appears to have sent out detachments across the river to seize as many places as possible.

As a result of this, Pangal[52] was taken and perhaps Ganpura[53] also. Stung with these humiliations, Kutub Shāh gathered his scattered forces and with 5,000 horse and 30,000 foot, once again marched to meet his foe. Part[54] of the Vijayanagar army was then encamped near Pangal. Against this the Shāh directed his attack in the most determined way. In the engagement that lasted from morning till sunset the Kutub Shāhis had the advantage, the Hindus retreating in disorder. The next day a siege was laid to Pangal, which Kuli tried to recovery by force. But the officer, in charge of the place, a relation of Krishṇa, gallantly defended it for two months. As the river was in full flood, the main Hindu army could only send a small force of 300 horse and 1000 foot for its relief. With the aid of this, the garrison defended itself very valiantly. But after two months, finding further resistance impossible, surrendered itself on condition of being permitted to leave the place without molestation. Krishna very much desired to advance[55] much deeper into the Golkonda territory. But on the advice of his minister, Timmaiah, and his generals Ayyamarasu, Kondamarasu and Bacharasu not to cross the river until the floods subsided as otherwise it would expose his flank to the attacks of the Gajapati king, Krishṇa retraced his steps. Thus bringing his campaign of 1572 A.D. to a close, he marched by way of Gutti and Gandikota[56] towards the fortress of Udayagiri.

The Fourth Portuguese Embassy: 1512 A.D.

We noticed earlier, Krishṇa's reply to the Portuguese embassy of 1511 A.D. As Alboquerque was absent from Goa at the time of its arrival, it had returned home without achieving its object. After his return from the Mallacca expedition in November 1512 A.D., Alboquerque again sent Gasper Chanoca to Vijayanagar, with instructions to tell Krishṇa, that, as all the kings of India had granted to the Portuguese a site in their harbours for the construction of a fortress, he requested him also to grant them a site at Bhatkal; and that, in return for this, he would willingly forward all the horses that came to market at Goa to Vijayanagar.[57] We have no information as to what reply Krishṇa sent. It is possible that as usual he put off any definite answer, as he had the Gajapati expedition before his view and, naturally enough, wanted peace with Adil Shāh just then.

The Capture of Udayagiri: C. 1513[58]-1514 A.D.

The fortress of Udayagiri stands on a spur of the Eastern Ghats, about sixty miles north-west of Nellore. It commands the district and was, at this period and earlier, the capital of a province called after itself. It is so strongly situated that it could not be approached 'except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time'. For more than a century after its first capture by Vijayanagar it remained in the possession of its kings as the capital of a province. It was only after the death of Deva Rāya the Great, that it passed into the hands of the kings of Orissa. Sāluva Narasinga had recovered it during his great eastern conquests. But it had again been lost to Vijayanagar, perhaps, after the death of his son, Immadi Narasinga, during the period of the Tuluva usurpation after Narasa Nāyak's death. Krishṇa Deva Rāya had, therefore, every claim for its recovery. Besides, as this province was on the flank of the Vijayanagar kingdom, its capture was of strategic importance also in that at any time an attack could be launched on her eastern districts from that quarter.

At the time of which we are writing, it was an important outpost of the kingdom and contained a garrison of 400 horse and 10,000 foot. Tirumala Rāvuta Rāya Mahāpātra,[59] an uncle of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, was then in charge of this fort. Against this, Krishṇa had an army of 800 elephants and 34,000 foot.[60] The siege was laid in right earnest, but the defence dragged on for nearly a year and a half. At last the Rāya ordered 'many paths to be made across the rocky hills breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress'. When this was finished, it became an easy affair to reach it and take it by storm[61]. This was in the early half of 1514 A.D. Here Krishṇa captured the aunt[62] of the king of Orissa, and with all courtesy took her along with him. After taking Kandukur[63] and other places and clearing the province as far as Kondaveedu, Krishṇa appointed his own officers in charge of the place and then left for his capital by way of Tirupati. Here he 'paid his homage to Lord Venkatanātha, had Him bathed in gold with 30,000 gold pieces and presented a triple-stringed necklace, a pair of gold bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz'. On reaching Vijayanagar he raised a great

temple in gratitude for God's blessings during his late campaign and consecrated the idol of Sree Krishṇa which he had brought from Udayagiri. This was about March 1514[64] A.D.

Turmoil in the Bahamani Kingdom

To the good fortune of Vijayanagar, the Mussalmān states of the Deccan were in great disorder at this time.[65] After the failure of Kamal Khān's plot, Mirza Jehāngir, an officer of Bijāpur, had been appointed by Ismael in charge of Gulburga. After assuming his office, this person had retaken the forts of Sāgar and Yatagiri from Bareed's forces and recovered all the country that had been lost to Bijāpur during the regency of Kamal Khān. Wild at these losses, Ameer Bareed raised a great army and marched on Gulburga which, after taking, he conferred on Jehāngir Khān, son of Mallik Dustoor, and also got for him the title of Mallik Deenār from the Sultān. Mallik very soon collected troops and took all the forts to the east of the Bhimā from Sāgar[66] to Naldroog[67].

Meanwhile, in response to Bareed's orders in the name of Mohamud Shāh, reinforcements arrived from Nizam-Ool-Mulk, Kutub-Ool-Mulk and Alla-Ood-Din Imad-Ool-Mulk. Strengthened by these, Bareed crossed the Bhimā and marched on Bijāpur at the head of 20,000 men committing havoc on the way. Ismael Adil Shāh waited at Bijāpur for the arrival of the allies. In a battle fought at Allahpur, Bareed was defeated and forced to flee. Mohamud Shāh and his son, prince Ahmed, were made prisoners and Ismael's power and dignity greatly raised. Shortly after, a marriage between the Adil Shāh's sister and Ahmad was celebrated at Gulburga and Mohamud Shāh and the newly weds were conducted to their capital with an escort of 5,000 Bijāpur troops.

On their arrival Bareed evacuated Bidar and fled to Ausa, his estate. Free from the control of his minister, Sultan Mohamud enjoyed a short period of independence. But Bareed was not the man to sit idle. Having received fresh aid from Boorhan Nizam-Ool-Mulk, he again marched on Bidar. At the news of his approach, the Bijāpur troops deserted the Sultān and fled. Bareed entered the capital, easily assumed the control of affairs once again, and put his sovereign under greater restraint. Tired of this situation, Mohamud managed to escape from Bidar to the protection of Imad-Ool-Mulk of Berār. This time the latter

ranged himself against Bareed, having taken up the cause of his sovereign. Learning of the march on Bidar, Amir Bareed shut himself up in the capital, seeking in the meantime help from Nizām-Ool-Mulk. The latter sent Khwāja Jehan with a considerable force which he managed to throw into the citadel of Bidar. Thus strengthened with fresh help, Bareed sallied out to give battle to his sovereign and his ally, Imad. Krishṇa Deva Rāya, who had long been waiting to strike a blow at his Mussalmān neighbours, was not slow to take advantage of this sea-saw for power among them.

The First Pact with the Portuguese: 1514 A.D.

But before he could act with success, a large supply of horse was necessary. This again could only come through the Portuguese. Krishṇa, therefore, now took up seriously the old negotiations with them, which had been carried on and off indifferently for the last three or four years. Ratnam Shetty,[68] Governor of Barakoor and a principal man of the royal household, was sent at the head of an embassy to Goa. He went with instructions to arrange for the supply of horses and seek the co-operation of the Portuguese in a war about to be waged against the Adil Khān.[69] About the same time, the king of Bijāpur also had sent messengers to Goa with the same object. Alboquerque tried not a little to bargain between the two parties. At last after much negotiation, a pact was entered into with the Portuguese, on condition that the king of Vijayanagar paid the wages of all the men whom Alboquerque had sent to take part in the proposed war. As for the horses, Krishṇa agreed to pay an annual sum of 30,000 cruzados and to send for the animals to Goa, Bhatkal or Barkoor.

The Battle of Jamkhandi[70]: 1514 A.D.

After securing the co-operation of the Portuguese in this manner, Krishṇa set out with a large army to invade the Bijāpur territories. This was about the close of the year 1514 A.D., when Bareed and his allies were, perhaps, encamped before the walls of Bijāpur. The ostensible cause for this invasion was the chastisement of the Adil Shāh and the restoration of the Bahamani sultān to his legitimate position. But as this was neither to the advantage of any of the Shāhi Kings, Ismael or Bareed, Nizām

Shāh Behari of Ahmadnagar hastened to send troops to dispute the Rāya's passing of the river Krishṇa. His officers, Feroz Khān and Talit Khān, Sanjar Khān,[71] Munial Khān, Dustoor Khān,[72] Vagir Khān, Rabut Khān and Bokka Singh, together with drafts from the armies of the Nizām Shāh and Behri of Ahmadnagar, drew up near Jamkhandi and prepared for battle. On receipt of this news, Krishṇa sent forward a part of his army under the command of Sadāsiva Nāika of Keladi with orders to humble the pride of the Khāns and open the way to the north before rejoining him. On Sadāsiva's arrival at the place, a hot contest commenced. Many a time the imperial army showed signs of yielding; but the situation was fortunately saved by the Naik's personal gallantry. Victory finally resting with Vijayanagar, Bokka Singh was taken captive and presented to Krishna; of the other officers of the Mussalmān army, some were killed and the others routed.

The Capture of Kalyāṇi[73]: 1514 A.D.

It is possible that, after his triumph at Jamkhandi, Krishṇa waited for a time to watch the issues of the struggle between the Adil Shāh and Amir Bareed, just then to be decided by a battle. The total defeat of the latter at Allahpore and the capture of Mohamad Shāh and his son by the former settled the course of action Krishṇa had to pursue. Plunging forward, his army appears to have spread itself all over the Bijāpur country capturing many places of importance. It is difficult to trace the movements of the various detachments and their performances. But this much is certain that, while the main army proceeded towards Gulburga, perhaps on the northern bank of the Krishṇa, a flying column under Sadāsiva Nāyaka of Keladi dashed forward as far north as Kalyāṇi, taking on its way Dhoolikota.[74] Shortly after, Kalyāṇi was also carried by assault. In reward for this gallant act, the king conferred upon his vassal the title of *Immadi* or *Doubly-gifted* and *Rāja Nāyaka*, that is, Royal Nāyaka.

The Capture of Gulburga: 1514 A.D.

Reaching the neighbourhood of Gulbarga, Krishṇa Deva Rāya was shortly after joined by Sadāsiva. This place was, at this time, in charge of the Adil Shāhi troops, which fought bitterly in its defence. For 8 days[75] the royal forces struggled to secure

an advantage. But noticing no improvement in the situation, the Rāya retired to his camp at Jāmavadanakote,[76] sending out from there his auxiliaries for a fresh attack. Of those that led this charge, Sadāsiva Nāika, Doddavasanta Nāyaka,[77] and Pemmasāni Timma Nāika distinguished themselves with conspicuous bravery. Gulburga was captured in the end, the officer-in-charge of it being killed[78] in action. In recognition of their distinguished services, all the officers were magnificently rewarded with presents and titles, Sadāsiva being particularly singled out for high distinction as *Kote Kolāhala* or the 'Wrecker of Forts'. These forces of the Rāya helped in great measure the restoration of the Bahamani sultan to his freedom. In memory of this achievement, the king of Vijayanagar assumed the title of *Yavana Rājya Sthāpanāchārya*, or the restorer of the Mussalmān empire. After this was over, leaving one Gujjāri Kalyāna Rao,[79] in charge of Gulburga, Krishna returned to Vijayanagar by way of Galihal.[80]

The Siege of Kondaveedu[81] etc.: 1515[82], A.D.

After a respite of only a few months,[83] Krishṇa Deva Rāya again unsheathed his sword. Although Udayagiri had given his kingdom some strategical advantage, he longed for a natural frontier. More than this, he was burning to earn a military renown that would leave his name ever remembered in the pages of history. He, therefore, ordered Sāluva Timmayya 'to make ready provisions and pay fully the salaries of the forces'. When this was effected, he set out early in 1515 A.D. to take Kondaveedu. This important fort had been lost, like Udayagiri, in 1514 A.D. By 1515 A.D. it was a place of considerable importance and the capital of a province. No less a person than prince Veerabhadra, a son of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, was in command of it. Learning that the Rājā of Vijayanagar had laid siege to it, the king of Orissa marched to its rescue with an army of 1300 elephant, 20,000 horse and 500,000 foot.[84] This news reaching Krishna, he left a small force to blockade the place, while he himself went forward with his main army to meet the enemy.

The Battle of Meduru[85]: 1515 A.D.

After proceeding 4 leagues, he came across the king of Orissa encamped on the farther bank of the river. The Rāya, being on

this side of the river, sent word to Pratāpa Rudra that, as in the crossing of the river many lives would be unnecessarily lost, it would be better that either himself should be allowed to cross the river unmolested or he would retire two leagues from the river permitting the Oriya army to cross it unmolested and then would engage him in battle. The king of Orissa giving no reply to this, the Vijayanagar army crossed it even in the face of opposition. In the course of this, many fights took place and many lives were lost. In spite of this, the Vijayanagar army gained the opposite bank and in a great battle fought there, the king of Orissa was beaten and put to flight. Krishṇa captured many horses and elephants from the Oriyas and returned to the siege of Kondaveedu.

The Capture of Kondaveedu:[86] *423rd June 1515 A.D.*[87]

Nearly two months[88] had been spent before the walls of Kondaveedu, ever since Krishna had left it. The renewal of a fresh attack from the main body of his army made further defence impossible. So after a resistance of a day and a half, the place fell easily on 23rd June 1515 A.D.[89]. Among the prisoners captured were prince Veerabhadra, Naraharipātra, son of Kumāra Hammira Mahāpātra, Mullukhān and Uddanda Khān of Rāichoor, Rāchi-Rāju of Pusapādu, Srināthа Rāju and Lakshmipathi Rāju, son of Rāma Rāju, Kesava Pātra of Jamjāla, Bālachandra Mahāpātra of the west and other nobles and feudatory chiefs.[90] The Oriya prince was sent to Vijayanagar for safe custody.[91] Sāluva Timma was appointed to command the captured fort, but as he desired to accompany the king, a brother of his by name Kondayya[92] was left as his representative. The Vijayanagar army next set itself to capture the rest of the forts of this province. Soon after, Vinukonda having surrendered, Mantri Bhāskara was left in charge of it. Bellamukonda was next captured and was handed over to Veerabhadrayya, and Nagārjunakonda was placed in the hands of Ayyalaya. With the reduction of a few more forts, like Addanki, Ammanabolu, Tangedu and Ketāvaram, the conquest of Kondaveedu province became an accomplished fact and the Vijayanagar frontier extended to its former extent along the mouths of the Krishṇā.

The Capture of Kondapalli, etc.: 1516 A.D.

After his return home, Krishṇa rested for not more than 5 or 6 months. But inaction was not in his nature. When the demands of military strategy were satisfied by his late conquests, it is hardly possible to explain the necessity for a fresh campaign. Perhaps the Rāya thought that, though victory had been achieved militarily, no peace was concluded with the enemy politically, and so his Empire was as insecure as ever. This was more so as the king of Orissa was again concentrating his best soldiers, this time at Kondapalli, only about 5 miles to the north of the Krishṇā. Krishṇa, therefore, decided to proceed against his enemy once more in order to crush his power beyond a chance of immediate revival and extract the much demanded peace from him.

Thus determined, he left Vijayanagar early in the year 1516 A.D. On his way he visited Ahobilam,[93] where he paid his respects to Lord Narasimha and presented many valuable jewels and a village to His service. Continuing his march he reached Bezwāda[94] which in due course he secured, and then encamped almost in sight of Kondapalli. Soon after, the siege of the latter place commenced with Krishṇa's usual vigour and application. Meanwhile, the Vijayanagar army overran the neighbourhood capturing Rājamahendri, Anantagiri, Kanakagiri and Sankaragiri, burning Vengi[95] and ravaging the delta[96] tracts. After three months,[97] Kondapalli also fell. On this occasion Prahāreswara Pātra,[98] Bodajamma Mahāpātra, Bijili Khān and a son and wife of Gajapati[99] were taken as prisoners. Sending them by road to Vijayanagar, he turned westwards into the Golkonda territory after leaving his garrisons in charge of the places conquered.

The Second Kutub Shāhi War: 1516 A.D.

We described above how Krishṇa Deva Rāya had to abandon his desire of vanquishing the king of Golkonda. He now took up the idea again, this time entering his enemy's country from the east. Uninterrupted success appears to have attended his arms all through this campaign. Indrakonda, Uralakonda, Aruvapalli, Jallepalli, Kondikonda, Kappulavayi were all taken in quick succession. Even Nalagonda, Commomet Devarakonda and Wārangal were captured.

The Destruction of Bidar: C. 1516 A.D.

It was perhaps about this time that Krishṇa got an opportunity to interfere with the politics of the Bahamani empire. After his defeat at Bijāpur, Amir Bareed had suddenly retired to Bidar and became the undisputed head of affairs. Sultān Mohamad Shāh, who was in Adil Shāh's camp, though nominally his overlord, was, in fact, a prisoner in his hands. His restoration to his capital or to his position was difficult in the circumstances. Krishṇa seized this opportunity to earn renown for himself as well as to curb the power of the enemy's wily minister. As usual, one of his officers, Sadāsiva Nāik,[100] was ordered to proceed in advance against Bidar. At the news of his approach, Amir Bareed sent his cavalry to give him battle. In a hard fought contest it was totally beaten, leaing 2,800 men dead on the field.

Meantime, Krishṇa having rejoined his advance guard, arrangements were started for a regular siege of the Bahamani capital. But the garrison, unable to defend the place with success, retreated to the interior. Bidar fell into Krishṇa's hands easily. After razing its fortifications to the ground and sowing castor oil seeds on the site, the Rāya turned east, once again to continue his campaign against the Gajapathi. The Bahamani sultan, on the other hand, being relieved by Bareed's presence, re-entered his capital soon after at the head of 5,000 Bijāpur troops. It must be in honour of this incidental restoration of the Bahamani sovereign to his lost kingdom, that Krishṇa assumed the title of '*Yavana Rājya Sthāpanāchārya*'[1] or 'the Restorer of the Mussalmān Empire*'.

The Battle with Shitab Khān: 1516 A.D.

At this stage, his minister, Timmayya, represented to him that as he had conquered all his enemies such as Adil Khān, Kutub Khān and Nizām-Ool-Mulk, it was not advisable to proceed any further into the territories of the Gajapathi as the Vijayanagar army might be attacked on the flank by the Mussalmāns in which case its supplies would be cut off. But without taking this advice seriously, the Rāya plunged further into the Gajapathi country. While he was thus on his march through a valley in the middle of a forest, he found himself most unexpectedly

* It is not definite whether it was in 1516 or in 1514. That he assumed this title. See p. 127. (Ed.)

surrounded on all sides by sixty thousand trained archers of a Mussalmān chief by name Shitab Khan. A terrible battle was the result. And though Krishṇa succeeded in defeating his enemies in the end, it was only with great difficulty that he was able to extricate his army from a dangerous situation.

The Conquest of Kalinga: 1516 A.D.[2]

After this incident Krishṇa turned east and marched to Simhādri by way of Jammiloya.[3] Here he stopped for six months[4] waiting for the king of Orissa to whom he sent many messages to come and meet him in the field. It must be during this interval that he visited Srikākulam[5] where he paid his homage to the Deity, Āndhra-Madhusudana. Pratāpa Rudra, on the other hand, invited his great vassals and nobles for a council of war. Of those that took part in this, the sixteen more important lords were Bālabhadrapātra, Durgāpātra, Bhimapātra, Mukundapātra, Bheekarapātra, Jerupātra, Ranarangapātra, Khadgapātra, Akhandapātra, Muraripātra, Revantapātra, Vajramushtipātra, Gajānkusapātra, Asahayapātra, and Mrigendrapātra. Their deliberations concluded with a declaration of war against the invader resulting in serious preparations for it on a large scale. When everything was ready, the Gajapathi advanced with a huge army as far as Pātanuru.

This, indeed, turned out to be a great crisis in the career of Krishṇa. It now became clear that it was not possible to gain a victory over such a mighty host by mere courage or force of arms. Timmayya, the great minister, therefore, settled to achieve his master's object by recourse to a clever piece of diplomacy. Agents with valuable presents were sent to the Pātra nobles carrying with them letters containing correspondence of a treasonable character. These exhorted them to desert their overlord on the battlefield and hand him over as a prisoner, in accordance with the agreement previously made with them. In return for this service, they added that they would be more profusely rewarded after the successful execution of the plot. Arrangements were deliberately made for misdelivery of some of these letters. Accordingly, when Pratāpa Rudra came across a few of them and saw their contents, being greatly alarmed by the knowledge of treason in his camp, he fled precipitately to the shelter of the Vindhya jungles. The unsuspecting Pātras, seeing their king flee, also took to their heels,

not knowing the real cause. Thus was success over the Gajapati easily achieved. Greatly rejoiced at this, Krishṇa erected a pillar of victory at the place and marched on Cuttack, the enemy capital, which he entered unopposed.

Peace with the Gajapathi

As glory and not plunder was the object of the Rāya's expedition to Orissa, he issued strict orders to his soldiers not to harm the city during their occupation in any way. The houses of the poor as well as the palaces of the Gajapathi were left untouched and even carefully protected against pillage. After securing the goodwill of the local population in this manner, Krishṇa sent a message to the runaway king through his minister that, as he had warred against him only for military glory, he was very willing to return all the conquered territories if only he came back and made peace with him. Surprised at this great magnanimity, Pratāpa Rudra willingly returned to his capital. As, of all persons round Krishṇa, Timmaiah was the only person who knew best the art of handling men and matters, the negotiations for peace and the means for their successful conclusion naturally fell on his shoulders. It was mainly through his tact that Pratāpa Rudra, after much hesitation, finally consented to offer his daughter Tukka's hand to Krishṇa. Soon after, the marriage also was celebrated with much pomp and magnificance. The king of Orissa, agreed to part with his provinces south of the river Krishṇa as part of the dowry to his daughter. Equally generous, if not more, Krishṇa agreed to forego all his newly made conquests north of that river as a proof of his goodwill towards his father-in-law. Thus was peace between the two great Hindu kings, who were enemies till then bent upon each other's destruction only a short while ago, secured by the cleverness of Timmayya and a seal set on it at last. After this was over, the Rāya returned with his bride homewards accompanied by the Gajapathi's ministers and attendants, reaching the banks of the Krishṇā about the month of June 1516.[6]

Krishṇa's South Indian Pilgrimage: 1516-17 A.D.

As great in piety as in war, Krishṇa Deva Rāya on reaching the frontiers of his kingdom, settled to give his great conquests

a becoming finish by visiting the holy places of south India. His first place of call was Sreesaila.[7] Here he paid his homage to Lord Mallikārjuna and made many gifts in that connection. Then he turned towards Tirupati. After making obeisance to Lord Venkateswara, he gave away the sixteen great gifts*, presented valuable jewels and gold to the temple and had the images of himself and his two queens, Thirumalā Devi and Chinnādevi, cast in metal and placed in a worshipful attitude before the Deity. Leaving Tirupati, he paid his respects to the Lord of Kālahasti, and went on to Kānchi.[8]

It was now the turn of the hallowed temples of this place to witness his many acts of devotion and charity. Proceeding to Chidambaram, he served Lord Natarāja by distributing gifts and building many rest-houses in that holy city. Srirangam was the next place of his call. Here he bathed in the sacred waters of the Kauveri and made his offerings at the feet of Lord Ranganātha. After this he left for Madurāi. At this place Lord Sundareswara and his consort Meenākshi were worshipped and many gifts and grants were made to their temples. Nāgarcoil, close to it, was next visited. From there Srivilli Puttur was reached where the great king had a big tank dug and a court hall in the temple constructed at a cost of a lakh of *mādas*. This over, Kuruva Nallur, Sankara Nārāyanar Coil, Tenkāsi, Kurrālam, Podiyell hill, Gajendra Moksham, Tinnalvelli, Venamālai, Tirukkurungudi, Tiruchhendur and Nava Tirupati were all passed through, till at last he reached the land's end at Kanyākumāri. Washing his blood-stained sword according to custom in the waves of the southern ocean at this place, he turned towards Rāmeswaram, worshipped in its famous temple and then crossed the strait in a barge to Dhanushkoti. On this holy spot in the right orthodox fashion, he thrice distributed his weight in gold in charity to the needy and the deserving.

Having spent three days in this manner, Krishṇa retraced his steps towards the north. Passing Srirangapatna on his way he finally reached Gokarna. After the worship of Lord Mahābaleswara of that holy place, the usual gifts were distributed. This over, the victorious king returned in triumph to his capital[9] after

* For elaboration see P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaaśtrās*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 869 (Ed.)

a long absence full of glory and full of faith. On his arrival his first act was to offer his grateful thanks to Lords Virupāksha and Vittala for their blessings on his recent success. Then on an auspicuous day, he held his court with much display and grandeur. On this occasion his great minister was singled out for special and conspicuous distinction, made to sit on a bejewelled seat and bathed in gold and precious stones. Likewise his other ministers, officers and generals were also rewarded according to their merits. Thus was his great eastern campaign, the greatest in his reign, formally brought to a happy close.

The Struggle for Kondaveedu: 1518 A.D.

Although Krishna Rāya had recovered Kondaveedu from the king of Orissa and appointed his own officer in charge of that province, its possession did not go unchallenged. Kuli Kutub Shah, whose frontiers the Rāya had ravaged in the late war and who could not fully resist him at that time, now turned his attention to inflict whatever losses he could on the territories of Vijayanagar. As a consequence Sāluva Timmaiah, who, on the King's return to his capital, was sent to resume his duties as governor of Kondaveedu, found himself on his way opposed by 60,000 men under a general by name Madar-Ool-Mulk[10]. But with 200,000 men at his command it was an easy matter for the minister to defeat his enemy. Taking Madar, his wife and son as prisoners, he sent them with their horses, elephants, money and jewels as booty to Vijayanagar. After this he proceeded to Kondaveedu where he stopped for some months putting down all disorder and settling many disputes. Thus having seen to the smooth working of the civil administration in that far off province, he left there an agent to continue the government in his name and returned to the imperial headquarter.

New Changes in the Revenue Settlement[11]: 1518-1524 A.D.

The first known revenue settlement of the Empire, according to the directions of Vidyāranya Sripāda, was under Harihara Rāya I. Krishṇa now settled to revise that old system according to the changed conditions of his day. The time chosen appears to have been about this period[12] when his Empire had reached its greatest limits without fear of any foreign aggression and when

his successful campaigns had given his subjects faith in the stability of his government, and himself the necessary conditions of peace. Again, as on many an occasion of grave importance and deep calculation, the services of Sāluva Timmaiah were sought to bring order out of chaos. To the credit of the great minister it must be said that the suggestions he offered were, as usual, so satisfactory and so successful as to leave a lasting impression on the succeeding generations about his great talent, his profound experience and his peerless wisdom.

According to the new arrangement, the unit of land assessment was known as the *rāya rekha* or the royal line.[13] This was taken as the standard and measured roughly about 7 feet 9 inches. 20 of these units made a *bigha* and 36 *bighas*, a *mār*, or plot of 16 to 80 acres. The other dry land measures were the *path* or *pole*, the *galla* and the *chigga*[14]. The standard assessment of the lands was fixed according to the survey measurement and classification of the soils, and a register of the money rates of payments drawn up by order of the government. The dry land was assessed either on the measure of its actual extent by the *rāya rekha* standard or by some local substitute of it; or it was estimated by the area to which the payment of a certain sum was attached which was stated in *huns* or in fractions of *huns*. In the wet or *malnād* lands, which were under the seed or the *bijvāri* system, the area of land was estimated by the number of *khandis* and *kudus* of seed required to sow it. To fix the government share under the seed system, the rent in kind for a series of years was considered, the fees of the village officers being taken from the grain on the threshing floor, and the rest divided into two equal shares of which the land holder was allowed to make his choice. The average money proceeds of the government share formed the assessment on the area which the seed which produced the whole would sow[15]. Gardens were estimated by the space occupied by a certain number of trees and were called *thāls* or estates.

In all the modes of assessment, whether by the *chahur*[16] of about 90 acres, the *mār* of 16 to 18 acres, the local *kulvan*, the *hun* rent unit or the *bijvāri* or seed system, the area of the unit of measurement varied according to the quality of the soil, while the amount which each unit paid was always the same[17]. Thus, Shijjaon in Bankāpur had the three *mārs* or plots, all assessed at

the same *rakham* or rate. The first or standard *mār* for good soil was 4 *kurgis*[18], that is, 16 to 20 acres. The second for medium soil was 6 *kurgis*, that is, 24 to 30 acres, and the third for the poor soil was 8 *kurgis* that is, 32 to 40 acres[19]. Unlike the other lands, the *bijvāri* or the seed system lands were further divided into classes paying different rates, this difference some times being found in dry lands also. This arrangement appears to have continued undisturbed in many parts of the Empire, at least till the battle of Tāḷikota. Afterwards it gave place to new changes under the Bijāpur government as it gradually spread itself southwards.

The Fourth Adil Shāhi War: 1519-20[20] A.D.

Krishṇa had scarcely taken rest for two years when he was again called to take part in another war. It was noticed above how he was able to capture Raichoor in his first war with Bijāpur. Sometime after 1512 A.D., it had again passed to Adil Shāh[21]. Now that his hands were free, the Rāya made up his mind to recover that important fortress at any cost. An unexpected incident gave him enough cause to break peace with Ismael. One Syed Mercer, in the service of Vijayanagar, had been sent with 40,000 *pardoes* to Goa in order to buy horses for his army. Either tempted by the big sum of money or induced by the Adil Shāh he fled with the money to Bijāpur. According to the terms of the treaty then in existence between Krishṇa and Ismael, the latter was bound to hand him over, if demanded. Instead of doing this, as the Syed was learned in Islamic law, Ismael avoided all direct answer, allowing him to escape to his sea port, Dābul. Being reminded by Sāluva Timma of this breach of treaty, Krishṇa at once declared war on the Adil Shāh and marched on Rāichoor.

The Rāichoor Expedition[22]*

The garrison of this place consisted, at this time, of 8,000 foot, 400 horses, 20 elephants and 30 catapults. But its power of resistance depended more upon the 200 heavy artillery and a good many smaller pieces, besides supplies enough to last for 5 years. Against a place thus equipped, Krishṇa led a huge army consisting

* Compare P. M. Joshi: The Raichoor Doab in Deccan History: Re-interpretation of a Struggle; (*J.I.H.* XXXVI, (3), 1958, pp. 379-396) (Ed.)

of 573,000 infantry, 28,600 cavalry[23] and 586 elephants. To minister to the needs of this mighty host, 12,000 water carriers and 20,000 courtezans were also added. About 40 trained Portuguese artillery men also accompanied them. Of the generals that went with Krishṇa, Kāma Nāik, Thimmappa Nāik, Adeppa Nāik, Triambaka Rāya, Kondama Reddy, Bāluva Govinda Rāja and Kumāra Veerayya were the more distinguished. With these he marched to his destination, Malliabād[24], close to Rāichoor. The chiefs of Bankāpur and Dambal travelling thither by another route, joined him there shortly after. Together with these additions, the Vijayanagar army numbered 733,000 infantry, 35,000 horses and 586 elephants before the commencement of action. At the news of Krishṇa's expedition, the Adil Shāh also began making preparations to march to the relief of his fortress, despatching, in the meantime, a captain with some troops as a reinforcement. On their entry into the fort, the garrison closed its gates, whereupon a regular siege began. With a view to induce its early fall, the Vijayanagar leaders gave their men every sort of encouragement. For every stone pulled from the fort wall, ten, twenty, thirty, forty or fifty *panams* were paid according to the nature of the work. But with all that, the siege dragged on for about three months.

The Battle of the Krishṇa[25]: 1520 A.D.

Meanwhile, as soon as his arrangements were ready, the Adil Shāh moved with a force of 120,000 foot, 18,000 horses[26] and 150 elephants to the relief of Rāichoor. But though fewer in numbers, its effectiveness was more than counter balanced by the very strong artillery he had brought with him. On reaching the Krishṇa, as he found all the fords held by the troops of Vijayanagar, he encamped on its northern bank choosing his position well. Giving orders to his engineers to build the necessary number of rafts, he waited quietly for some days expecting the Vijayanagar army to cross the river and engage him where he was. But finding the Hindus unwilling to be drawn into the snare which he had spread for them, he at last settled to take the initiative himself. So, one day in a moment of intoxication he crossed the river with 250 elephants[27] and a part of his army not more than 2,000 men[28]. With these he marched to within three leagues of Krishṇa's camp

and then pitched his tents. Shortly after, a good many other soldiers also joined him. Krishṇa, on the other hand, learning that his enemy had taken up a new position and strengthened it by digging trenches and mounting guns, advanced in his turn a league more and encamped there. The two armies being thus brought in sight of each other they spent a whole night fully armed. The next morning Krishṇa's soldiers woke to the sounds of the drums and trumpets and got themselves ready for the battle. Choosing an auspicious moment, Krishṇa ordered his two forward divisions[28] of about 30,000 men to attack the Mussalmāns and so to strike home as not to leave one enemy alive. In a short time many of the Hindu troops managed to reach the enemy trenches carrying everything before them. At this stage, the Bijāpuris opening the fire of their whole artillery upon them, much damage was caused to the attacking party. As a result of this, their ranks being thrown into disorder, they began to turn back and flee, hotly followed by the enemy cavalry who charged them for half a league.

Grasping the critical situation of his troops, the Rāya called for one of his pages and, giving him a ring from his finger, told him to give it to his queens in token of his death that they might burn themselves according to the custom. After this, mounting horse, he cried out that 'those who had turned their backs to flee were traitors; and since they had all to die one day and death was inevitable, it was better to meet it halfway and die like soldiers in the charge but not lazily await it, standing still to be slaughtered; and that the day had arrived when the Adil Shāh could boast that he had slain the greatest lord of the world, but he should never boast that he had vanquished him'. Then turning to his officers, he called out 'Who ranges himself with me?' At this, all who were ready to side with him, immediately thronged about him. With these and the remaining divisions, he charged his enemies, commanding his people to slay at the same time without mercy every Hindu that was attempting to flee. Seeing this sort of reception and helped by the new reinforcements, most of them returned to the charge and fell upon their disordered pursuers in such fashion that, unable to hear the shock, the Mussalmāns turned their backs and without putting up the least resistance in their fortified camp, leapt into the river to save themselves. Krishṇa's troops chased the retreating foe to the bank of the river. Working such a slaughter among them, that, besides the many

killed and drowned, even a good number of women and boys also lost their lives. In the Vijayanagar army the dead alone numbered more than 16,000, Sungut Ray[30], an important general, being one of them. Of the Bijāpuris not many could escape, and even Ismael saved himself very narrowly[31]. Mirza Jehāngir was killed in action, and five great captains of whom Salabut Khān was most important, were taken prisoners.

Seeing the enemy flee many of the generals of Krishṇa begged for permission to pursue them that they might finish the work of extermination. But unwilling to shed any more unnecessary blood, he ordered his troops to retire. After this he entered the deserted camp of his enemy and sat down in the Adil Shāh's tent enjoying rest. When the spoils of war were counted they numbered 100 elephants, 400 heavy cannon, many smaller pieces, a good many tents and pavillions, 4,000 ormuz and a number of ordinary horses, together with many oxen and other beasts. Of the women captured, all were ordered to be released. Then commanding the dead of his army to be burnt and alms distributed for the merit of their souls, Krishṇa turned back from the battlefield to resume the siege of Rāichoor.

*The Fall of Rāichoor: 1520 A.D.**

There was little doubt that the issues of the late battle had finally settled the fate of the besieged fort also. With its battered walls and with no hopes of relief, the garrison could not hold out the place any longer against the full strength of Vijayanagar which was now directed against it. Yet it struggled for 20 more days hoping against hope till at last a stray musket shot from the Portuguese in the service of Krishṇa killed the Raichoor captain. Disheartened at this, the besieged came out with a white flag offering to surrender the place, if only their lives were spared. As was usual with him, not being unwilling to grant this request, Rāichoor was once again delivered to his hands. After securing possession of it, the next morning, he entered it in full state, followed by his courtiers and attendants. He then sent for the most respectable people of the city and told them that their persons and property were as secure under his government as they were

* Compare G. S. Dixit: 'Krishna Deva Rāya's Conquest of Raichoor' (*QJMS*, XXXI, pp. 1-6) (Ed.)

before. And if they liked to continue to live there they might do so undisturbed in any way. If, on the other hand, they desired to leave the place they had his permission to do so. To assure them of his good intentions he issued strict orders to his soldiers not to lay their hands in any way on the property or the people. As a further proof of this, he punished some of them, who had robbed the citizens and even returned to the owners what had been taken. With all this, many desiring to go, he ordered his officers to supply them with all that was necessary for their journey. Thus did this great king treat the subjects of an enemy power, and justify his claim for the exalted position of a ruler of men.

The Results of the Victory

The news of his late victory over Bijāpur soon spread over the neighbouring countries raising his name as a warrior far above his contemporaries. But though this increased the prestige of Vijayanagar and added to its strength, yet it did not fail to produce the only natural effect that was possible on the minds of the other Shāhi kings. In spite of the fact that they all desired the humiliation of their rival and had even given their consent for his punishment, yet the growing power of the Hindu king alarmed them with regard to the safety of their own possessions. They, therefore, changed their attitude towards the Rāya. And while he was yet in camp at Rāichoor, they sent him their envoys to tell him that, though they approved of his punishment of the Adil Shāh, they very much desired his lands to be returned to him and that no further war should be waged against him. If the king of Vijayanagar fulfilled their requests, they said that they would continue to support him in all his enterprises. If not, they concluded, they all would be compelled to join hands with Ismael and recover for him what he had lost. To this audacious message, Krishṇa could only send the reply that the king of Bijāpur got not only what he richly deserved, but also he was not going to return anything that had been taken from him. As for their joining together to attack him, he would tell them that they need not take so much trouble as he himself was going to seek them in their lands, where they might meet him if they so dared. He sent back the envoys to their respective masters and after making the necessary arrangements for the safety of the fort, once again returned to his capital. As usual, his homecoming was marked with great rejoicings and

followed by equally great festivities. When all these were over, he retired for a short rest to his newly built suburb, Nāgalāpur.[32]

The Second Adil Shāhi Embassy: 1520 A.D.

It is really surprising that the Adil Shāh had, as a last resort, decided to recover by prayers what he had failed to achieve by diplomacy and force of arms. With this object he sent an embassy under a Matucotum[33], perhaps a Mussalmān officer of his court. Arriving with 150 horses, many camels, pack animals and followers at Nāgalāpura, he waited for a month, seeking an interview with the king. At the end of that period, Krishṇa sent for him to make inquiries about the object of his visit. The ambassador replied that his master bore no ill-will towards the Rāya; that he had broken a long peace that had existed between them, by taking Rāichoor and devastating the Bijāpur country; that it was only when the Shāh learnt that he had marched against his fort, that he hastened to its rescue; that, in the battle that followed, Krishṇa had killed all the members of Ismael's court and plundered and destroyed his camp; as this was not becoming on his part, the Adil Shāh begged him to make amends for the injury done to him by sending back all the captured artillery, tents, horses, elephants and men, besides restoring Rāichoor. If this request were granted, he said, he would always be his loyal friend. If not, the consequence would be bad to the Rāya.

These words, Krishṇa heard patiently and told him that he was willing to return all that he had taken from his master and release Salabat Khān, provided the Adil Shāh made his submission to him by offering the customary homage.[34] The ambassador lost no time in communicting the Rāya's wishes to his lord. To this the reply came back from Bijāpur that Ismael was willing to do whatever was required of him, but did not know where to meet the king of Vijayanagar. Krishṇa, therefore, sent him a message that the Shāh might come to the frontier of his kingdom where he would soon be going. When the ambassador departed, the Rāya himself started to meet Adil Shāh.

The Sack of Bijāpur: 1520[35]

Reaching Mudgal, Krishṇa halted for a time for the arrival of the king of Bijāpur. But, for reasons best known to himself,

the Shāh was afraid to meet him in person, and the interview was put off under some excuse or other. After waiting sufficiently long, Krishṇa settled to enter the Shāh's kingdom and seek him himself. By false appointments, he was thus led from place to place, till at last he entered and occupied Bijāpur. There he waited for several days hoping to receive the submission of the king. Instead, his men breached the two tanks that supplied the capital with water, with the intention of destroying the invader by thirst. At the same time, without the knowledge of their king, the Vijayanagar army feeling the want of fuel, tore down the houses of nobles and commons alike, using all woodwork thus collected for their cooking. By this pitiless handling, the whole city, with the exception of the palace of the Adil Shāh where Krishṇa had taken his quarters, was left in ruins. Yet as Ismael failed to make his appearance, the Rayā was advised by his councillors to retrace his steps towards his own dominions, especially as the supply of water began to fail. On learning that he had turned his back, the Adil Shāh returned to his capital breathing freely. But when he saw the irreparable damage done to his capital, he regretted that it was all the result of his own folly in not complying with the demands of the Rāya. Then blaming his councillors for the advice they gave him, he made up his mind to seek the friendship of Krishṇa that he might, at least in future, avoid disasters of that kind. With this object he made haste to send another embassy in charge of Assud Khan, his most intimate confident and chief of Belgaum.

The Third Adil Shāhi Embassy: 1520[86] A.D.

Assud had his own ends to gain in undertaking this mission. He had received reports from various persons that Salabut Khān, then a prisoner at Vijayanagar, had attributed the whole blame of the Adil Shāh's late defeat to Salabut's cowardice and wrong advice. He had also heard that the Khāṇ desired his liberation with the only object of exposing his faults and get him punished for it as a traitor. Being conscious of his faults and afraid of his impending ruin, Assud was determined in his mind to prevent his rival's release at any cost. As this embassy seemed to offer him an opportunity, he readily proceeded to Mudgal, where Krishṇa stayed at that time. As he knew that the latter was angry with his master, he, being a clever speaker, managed to bring down

his temper. It was because, he said, of Salabut's letter to Ismael that the Rāya intended to kill him, and that the Adil Shāh avoided to meet him and pay him his respects. Roused to anger at what he thought to be a treacherous act on the part of the prisoner, Krishṇa sent at once orders to Vijayanagar. After satisfying himself that the execution had actually been carried out, being guilt-minded and afraid that his trick might any day be detected Assud slipped away one night from the place all on a sudden. On arrival at his master's court, he told him that the king of Vijayanagar had ordered the death of Salabut Khān and would have done the same to him also, if he had not escaped in time. He added, therefore, that Krishṇa was not a fit person to be trusted nor any agreement entered into with him. With this advice he left the Shāhi capital and going to his own estate at Belgaum, he refused to return afterwards even when sent for repeatedly. Thus did the purpose of this embassy also fail, leaving matters even worse than before.

The Destruction of Gulburga[37]: 1521[38] A.D. Or The Fourth Adil Shāhi War

Krishṇa was not slow to discover the treachery of the Bijāpur ambassador. But when he sent his agents to seize him, it was found to have been too late. Furious at this, he once again entered the enemy's kingdom, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. Sāgar was the first place to suffer from his vengence. After sacking the place and massacring its defenders, his army marched upon Gulburga. The Adil Shāhi forces[39] tried to dispute his progress by offering him battle at Kembāvi[40] on his way. A crushing defeat was all the result. The Adil Shāh made another effort at Gobbur[41] to check the progress of the victorious army but to no avail. Krishṇa Rāya pounced upon him with unexpected rapidity and once again annihilated the forces of his enemy. Gulburga too fell soon after, leaving Krishṇa master of the situation. After releasing the three sons of the Bahamani Sultān who had been imprisoned there[42] by the Adil Shāh and razing its fortifications to the ground, he declared the eldest of them[43] as king of the Deccan and settling 50,000 gold *paradoas*[44] a year on the other two, treated them with all courtesy as princes. After this he wanted to march further into the Mussalmān terri-

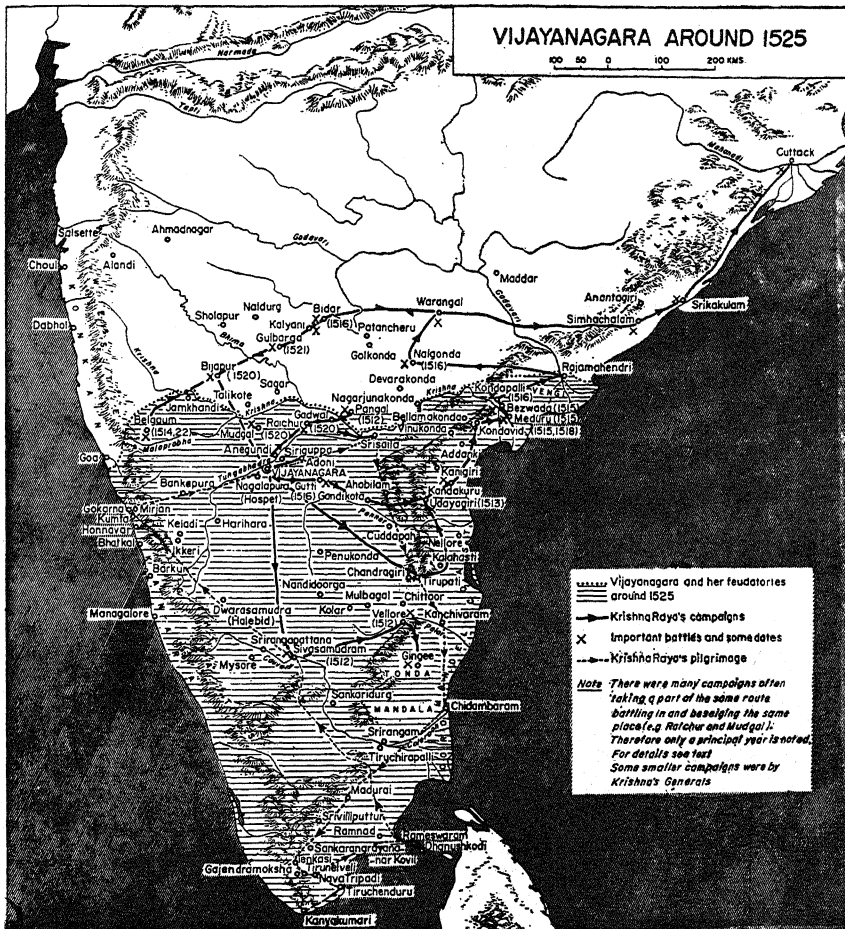
tories. But his councillors advised him that besides water failing him on the road, though the restoration of the new Sultān was popular among the people, the other Shāhi kings would join the Adil Shāh for fear of losing their lands; and he returned home reaching Vijayanagara in the same year in which he had started.[45]

The Goa Expedition: C. 1522 A.D.

Soon after his capture of Rāichoor, Krishṇa appears to have sent word to the Portuguese at Goa, that, as Belgaum and the surrounding parts became his by right of conquest, he was willing to make a present of the main lands to the king of Portugal in return for a monopoly in the purchase of horses. Perhaps encouraged by these words, Ruy de Mallo, the governor of Goa at that time, had seized much of the neighbournig tracts that belonged to Bijāpur. It must have been to recover these lost lands that Krishṇa fitted out an expedition under his minister Sāluva Timmaiah. It is difficult to assess what amount of success attended this enterprise. The Portuguese accounts give out that, after the capture of Rāichoor, the Vijayanagar army succeeded in taking Belgaum also. After this, Timmayya seems to have turned westwards and directed his march towards Goa. On the way, Sālsette[46] is said to have fallen into his hands. But further progress was stopped on his reaching Ponda[47] where the Portuguese claim to have attacked and driven his forces back.

The Inter-Shāhi Wars: 1523-25 A.D.

It was stated earlier that, on the defeat of the Adil Shāh at Raichoor, his brother kings had threatened to join together and fight against the king of Vijayanagar. But in the then state of their political rivalry, this was too high an ambition. With the advice of Assud Khān, no doubt, a start had been made to combine the interests of the Adil Shāh and the Nizām Shah. With this object a marriage between Mariam, sister of Ismael, and Boorhan had been effected. But in spite of this tie of blood, the breach between the two kings widened as a result of their rivalry on account of the reason that the Adil Shāh refused to part with Sholāpur, which he had promised to hand over to Ahmadnagar as part of the dowry to be given to his sister. This short-lived alliance had been broken by an open declaration of war by Boor-

Drawn by N.H.Itagi; Direction by M.H.Gopal

han. For their own selfish reasons, Bareed Shāh of Bidar and Imad Shāh of Berār had joined with the latter and marched on Sholāpur. In the struggle that followed, the Adil Shāh was able to gain the advantage in the end by defeating the allies close to that town. Boorhan, Bareed and Imad all fled from the battlefield.

The Abdication of Krishṇa Deva Rāya: (?) *1524*[48] *A.D.*

These disturbed conditions in the political life of his neighbours gave Krishṇa Deva Rāya a good opportunity to effect another important change in the administration. With the end of the expedition to Gulburga, it might be said that his active life had drawn to a close. As the infirmities of age began to tell upon his health, he grew anxious about the future in case of a disputed succession. Of his twelve queens,[49] at least a few are known by name Nāgalā, his early sweetheart,[50] being one. Tukkha,[51] or Jaganmohini[52] of Gajapati, who was deserted after marriage and died neglected at Kumbam in Karnool district[53], was the second, Tirumalā Devi was the third,[54] and Chinnā Devi the fourth.[55] By one of them he had a son by name Tirumala.[56] He was then only six years of age. To this was added the fear that not only his conquest but even the safety of the Empire might fall a victim. He, therefore, settled to install Tirumala in his place and carry on the administration in his name. With this object, he abdicated his title in his son's favour,[57] even making obeisance to him as his first subject. For himself, he chose the position of a minister, leaving to Sāluva Timma that of the councillor. For eight months festivities were continued in connection with this event till brought to a close by the hand of fate.[58]

Imprisonment of Sāluva Timmayya: C. 1524 A.D.[59]

Scarcely were the festivities over, when the young king fell ill and died. To the misfortune of Timmayya, a suspicion was created in the mind of the king that the prince had died of poison administered to him by the minister's son, Timma Danāyak. 'The Government of Beejanagar had remained in one family in an uninterrupted succession for 700 years,[60] when Shew Ray[61] dying,[62] he was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not long survive him and left the throne to a younger brother'.

Without venturing to investigate the truth of the charge of poisoning, the Rāya, with his usual impetuosity, decided to wreak his vengence on the suspected man as well as all his relatives. So, at a time when his full court had assembled, he brought the accusation not only against the Danāyak but also against his father and relations as traitors to himself. It is not clear whether any defence was attempted or whether even in spite of it, innocence was not vindicated. All that is known is that the king convicted them of the guilt and hurried the accused, his aged father and the latter's brother Gunda Rāja or Govinda Rāya to prison. Such was the close of the public career of this distinguished minister and the return for all he had done for the Emperor.

Nāgama Nāyaka's Rebellion: 1526 A.D.

After this incident, Krishṇa chose a son[63] of Kondama Arasu for his minister and tried to carry on the Government with his help. But his ingratitude to his benefactor appears to have fallen like a blight over the rest of his reign. The first of a series of troubles came from Nāgama Nāyaka, a trusted lieutenent of his father and, till then, his own loyal servant. In response to an appeal by a Pāndya Chief, by name Chandrasekhara, this general had been sent southwards to put down the aggression of another vassal, Veerasekhara Chola, who had deprived him of his throne and occupied his capital Madurai. Nāgama, no doubt, succeeded in defeating and executing the Chola chief. But, instead of reinstating the Pāndya on his throne, he occupied his capital with his own troops and attempted to remain there permanently. This time Chandrasekhara complained against the injustice done to him by the imperial general. When Krishṇa sent orders to the Nāik to restore the Pāndya to his position and return with the army to the headquarters, he gave out vague excuses and attempted to stay where he was in possession of his conquests. Angry at this disobedience, Krishṇa called for volunteers who would be willing to proceed against the rebel and bring him his head. To his great surprise, Viswanātha, son of Nāgama, offered his services to lead the expedition. Though the king was at first surprised at this strange offer, being convinced of his arguments, sent him at the head of 2,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry. True to his word, Viswanathā fought against his own father, and brought him a prisoner to the Emperor. Greatly pleased with his extraordi-

nary act of loyalty, the Rāya forgave the rebel and appointed Viswanātha as the Viceroy of Madurāi, especially as the Pāndya showed an inclination to be satisfied with an allowance in return for his claims to the throne.

Timma Danāyak's Revolt: C. 1527 A.D.[64]

Nāgama Naika's example was followed by another which was equally embarrassing to the dignity, if not, to the stability of the Empire. After 3 years of confinement, somehow Timma Danāyak managed to escape from the prison, fleeing towards a mountain range where[65] a relative of his lived. With his help and also with that of robbers and highwaymen that lived closeby, he raised the standard of revolt, causing not a little of anxiety to the king. Sadāsiva Nāyaka[66] of Keladi claims the honour of having marched on and defeated him. Anyhow after some trouble the Danāyak was captured[67] and taken to Vijayanagar where Krishṇa ordered the eyes of himself, his father Timmaiah and the latter's another son Gundayya to be put out. The rebel died shortly after, while the other two continued to languish in captivity.

The Hand of Fate

It was really a lucky coincidence of events that during these years of anxiety, Krishṇa's Mussalmān neighbours also had their own troubles. The defeat of Boorhan at Sholāpur was followed by worse complications among the Shāhi powers. At the instigation of Ismael and Kuli Kutub, a dispute between the Imad Shāh and the Nizām Shāh had developed with regard to the possession of Patri district. Almost the whole of the year 1527 A.D. was spent in a war between them[68] the Adil Shāh being an anxious spectator of the events. The next year[69] was spent by the Adil Shāh in a war against the combined strength of Boorhan and Amir Bareed who invaded the former's territories and proceeded to very near Bijāpur. The year 1529[70] A.D. kept the Nizam Shāh and Amir Bareed fully engaged with the invasion of the former's territory by the mighty army of Bahadur Shāh of Gujarāt. Even the Adil Shāh had to take some part in this by sending 6,000 horse[71] and 10 lakhs of *huns* to the relief of his former enemy of Ahmādnagar. When the fear of the Gujarāt invasion was over,

a fresh war began between the Adil Shāh and Amir Bareed because the latter tried to corrupt the loyalty of the Bijāpur troops during the late campaign. As a consequence Ismael marched on him with 10,000 cavalry and laid siege to Bidar. Kuli Kutub Shāh, on the other hand, was busy about this time[72] in extending his power at the expense of the Hindu chiefs of Rājakonda and Devarkonda, Seethāpathi, Rāja of Commomet, being the first to suffer at his hands. Having captured Bellamakonda and Commomet, Kuli turned his arms against Rāmachandra, the Oriya viceroy at Kondapalli, who had taken up the cause of the Hindu chief[73]. This person also failing to stem the tide of Kuli's advance, Kondapalli, Indrakonda, and Etgeer fell. When the news of the capture of Rāmachandra and of fresh disasters at Ellore and Rājamahendri reached the Gajapathi king, he made haste to secure peace with the Kutub Shāh by ceding all his lands south of the little Godāvari. Thus, little by little, the frontier of Golkonda had reached that of Vijayanagar towards the close of Krishṇa's reign.

The Third Kutub Shāhi War: 1529 A.D.[74]

Taking advantage of the disturbances within the Empire, the Shāh now decided to invade the Rāya's north-east border lands and take Kondaveedu. The excuse was that the Rāya had invaded his frontier district some time ago. At the news of his advance, Krishṇa deputed his nephew with 5,000 horse and 50,000 foot to its relief. In the beginning the Vijayanagar forces were successful in driving off the attack against Kondaveedu and in nearly recovering Bellamakonda which had been captured by the Mussalmāns. But a second attack led by the Kutub Shāh in person reversed all their successes and even compelled them to surrender Kondaveedu. When the news of the fall of the latter place reached Vijayanagar, Krishṇa immediately sent a further re-inforcement of 100,000 foot and 8,000 horse under his son-in-law, Siva Rāya, to retake it. This he was successful in carrying out and even drove the Golkonda army across the Krishṇa towards Kondapalli. But in a later battle fought close to this place, the Hindus being beaten, the tide again turned in favour of Kutub Shāhi. A third attack on Kondaveedu compelled its defenders finally to surrender the fort to him. This was a severe blow to the dignity of the great king who was nearing his end.

The King's Last Campaign: 1529 A.D.[75]

Finding that the Rāya's resources were engaged round about Kondaveed, the Adil Shāh also tried to benefit by it by recovering Rāichoor, if possible. On coming to know of his march, though his strength was failing, without telling any one, Krishṇa rode at full speed towards the threatened fort. When the Shāh heard of his movement, he lost heart and fled without offering a battle[76]. On his arrival at Rāichoor, Krishṇa sent word to Ismael that he had twice broken his promise in failing to offer him his submission. He would, therefore, make such a war against him that would compel him to become his vassal and surrender Belgaum. But as winter had begun to make its appearance, Krishṇa could not proceed any further at that time. He, therefore, returned to his captial to make ready for war against Bijāpur. With this object he got a large force of artillery to be prepared. The help of the Portuguese also was sought through an ambassador whom he sent to Goa with a promise that after his capture of Belgaum, he would give them the lands close to it in return for their services.

The Death of Krishṇa

Thus, while preparations for war were in progress, Krishṇa fell seriously ill. His last days were really sad. He had only one legitimate son of 18 months of age left to succeed him. The great minister was dead and the war with Bijāpur was looming on the horizon. Therefore, he settled upon the best course possible under the circumstances by nominating his brother, Achyuta, to the throne. Then leaving word behind him to carry the war to a successful conclusion, by wresting Belgaum from Ismael, the great monarch passed away in C. 1530 A.D.[77] in the 45th year of his life.

His Character

The death of Krishṇa Deva Rāya left such a void in the ranks of the Vijayanagar kings that it was never filled up by any successor, however distinguished. To do justice to his great parts or correctly to estimate his services to his people is beyond the powers of even his best admirers. Trained under the careful eye of his gifted minister, Appāji, he developed, even from his early days, very high ideals of kingly honour and kingly duty. As a result of

this, there is little doubt that in all his actions he tried to imitate the heroes of antiquity, like Vikramāditya and Bhoja. Subject to the limitations of his day, he was successful in realising most of his ambitions. By his many-sided activities, he not only exalted his line and his order, but became in many respects the very embodiment of kingship itself.

Travellers[78] describe Krishṇa as a person of medium height, fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin. Krishṇa was a good wrestler, a fine rider and an efficient swordsman. Of personal courage he had plenty;[79] of a general's skill he had enough. Although he loved pleasure, he could, when necessity demanded, lay aside all thought of comfort and concentrate his attention on the work before him. His moderation in the hour of success and his self-confidence in moments of danger were equally remarkable. To court him was a blessing, to slight him was dangerous. The restoration of the Bahamani sultān is a proof of the former. The campaign against the Adil Shāh is an illustration of the latter. Once his mind was made up, no inducement could shake him and no danger frighten him. The Gajapati war bears witness to this characteristic in him. Ambitious but not greedy, pleasure loving but not sensual, pious[80] but not bigotted, romantic yet practical, gay and light-hearted, just, kind, chivalrous and generous to a fault, he had in him all the qualities that appeal to popular imagination. His proverbial charity[81] drew friends closer and struck his enemies with wonder. No talent escaped his recognition. No virtue was left without its reward. The Naikships of Ikkeri, Madurai, Ginjee and Belur were mainly of his making, and the honours showered on their founders speak of his character.

All arts and all crafts drew Krishṇa's patronage equally. Temples and towers, tanks and towns, sculpture, music, art and architecture flourished under his care. The figure of Lakshmi Narasimha, the majestic proportions of the 'House of Victory' and the beautiful carvings in the shrine of Vithala at Hampi are evidence of his taste. Even the field of scholarship was not left unexplored by him. Besides the reputation of being the author of *Madālasā Charitra*, *Satyavadhuprinanambu*, *Sakala Kathāsāra Sangraha*, *Suktinaipunigrana Chintāmani*, *Rāsamanjari* and a play called *Jāmbavati Kalyāna*, all in Sanskrit, tradition attri-

butes the Telugu work *Amuktamālyada* also to him. To men of letters he was particularly considerate. To please them he would go to any length; and to encourage them, he would part with any thing. Although a Vaishṇava himself, he honoured men of all creeds and worshipped in temples of all faiths. Kānchi or Kālahasti, Tirupati or Sreesaila, Sreerangam or Chidambaram were all alike to him. His one personal failing was shortness of temper and his one public blunder was his ingratitude to his minister.

Causes for Krishṇa's Uninterrupted Success

The causes for his almost uninterrupted success were both military and political. In matters military, great improvements had been effected in technique as well as training, the first having been in Deva Rāya II's reign. In archery, arms, artillery, and horses and equipment it had become a rule to engage Mussalmans and later Portuguese experts to train the Hindu soldiers. Obsolete ideas of raising and marshalling troops had been overhauled and brought up-to-date.

In politics, favourable circumstances both foreign and domestic blessed his reign. When all is said, it must not be forgotten that he was as much the child of circumstances as circumstances were the result of his actions. With a gifted minister, with a well-filled treasury and with a mighty army, with the internecine wars among the Shāhi kings and with the timely appearance of the Portuguese, even a lesser man would have achieved something, if not as much.

His Court

With such an accomplished king at the head of the State it is no wonder that his court overflowed with all that was best and noble in Hindu life. There was wisdom and there was chivalry represented by their best specimens. Statesmen like Timmayya and soldiers like Mallarasa, Kondamarasa, Tipparasa, Triambakarasa, Basavarasa, Apparasa, Bācharasa, Adiyappa Nāik, Rāmalinga Nāik and Sadāsiva Rāya Nāik were all stars of the first magnitude. With these and with the poets, priests, prophets

and philosophers in his day, Vijayanagar recalled the splendours of Ujjain, Dhar and Pāṭaliputra. Vallabhācharya journeyed thither to receive Krishṇa's homage and bless his actions. Venkata Tātāchārya[82] and Vyāsathirtha elevated the court by their noble discourses. A galaxy of poets shed lustre over his reign. Among those that graced his court eight have passed down in tradition[83] as the *diggajas* or the conventional eight elephants of the eight quarters. These were Allasāni Peddanna,[84] the author of *Manucharitra*, Mādayyagāri[85] or Mallanna of *Rājasekhara Charitra*, Nandi Timmanna[86] of *Pārijātāpaharana*, Rāmabhadra of *Sakala Kathāsārā Sangraha*, Dhoorjati of *Kālahasti Mahātmya* Pinagali Surama of *Rāghava Pāndaveeya*, Bhattu Murthy of *Vasu Charitra* and Ramalinga of *Pānduranga Mahātmya*. In Kannada the Jain, Mangarasa or Mangarājā, an officer under the Chengalvas, wrote his *Sreepāda Charitra* and *Samyukta-Koumudi*, Mallanāryā his *Bhāva Chintāratna*, Vitthala Nātha his *Bhāgavata*, and Timmanārya at the suggestion of Krishṇa[87] finished Kumāra Vyāsa's[88] Bhāratā. To Lolla Lakshmidhara, a good number of works on Astronomy, Astrology, Theology and Law are attributed. The jokes of the famous jester, Tennāli Rāmakrishṇa, who lived at this time, are known to every household in south India.

Vijayanagar during Krishṇa's reign

Barbosa, who visited the Canara coast about 1514 A.D. writes of Vijayanagar thus: 'Bijanagar is on a level ground surrounded by a very good wall on one side, a river on the other and a mountain on the third. It is very large and populous. There are many large and handsome palaces and wide streets and squares. The king, a gentile called Raheni, always lives in the city and seldom leaves his palace...Many litters and many horsemen stand at the door of his palace. He keeps 900 elephants each worth 1500 to 2000 ducats; and 20,000 horses each worth 300 to 600 ducats. Some of the choicest are worth one thousand ducats. He has more than 100,000 men, horse and foot, and 5,000 women in his pay...Among his knights many come from different parts to take service and do not cease to live in their own creeds. In times of peace the city is filled with innumerable crowds of all nations. There are very rich local gentiles, many Moorish merchants and traders and an infinite number of others from all

parts. They dwell freely and safely in what creeds they choose-whether Moor, Christian or gentile. The Governors observe strict justice and there is an infinite trade. Great quantities of precious stones pour into Vijayanagar, jewels from Pegu, diamonds from the Deccan and also from a Vijayanagar mine, and pearls from Ormuz and from Cael in south India. Silks and brocades are brought from China and Alexandria and much scarlet cloth from Europe. There is a great import of coral, copper, quick silver, vermillion, saffron, rose-water, pepper, opium, sandal and aloe-wood, camphor and musk'.

Another visitor, Domingos Paes, writes: 'These dominions are well cultivated and very fertile... The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains, beans and other kinds of crops which are now sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton... The whole country is thickly populated with cities, towns and villages. ... The kingdom has 600 leagues of coast, and across it [it measures] 348 leagues from Batacalla to the Kingdom of Oriya... This king had made within it a very strong city, fortified with walls and towers, and the gates at the entrances very strong, with towers at the gates...Before you arrive at the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other closures of the city... Then going forward you have another line of walls and it also encircles the city. Inside the first and from here to the King's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, houses of captains and other rich and honourable men...Going along the principal streets, you have one of the chief gateways which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace... This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others and encloses a greater space than all the castle of Lisbon.

'Going forward you have a broad and beautiful street full of fine houses and streets of the sort I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street line are many merchants and there you will find all sorts of rubies and diamonds and emeralds and pearls and seed pearls and cloths and every sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags and also many citrons, and wines and oranges and grapes, and every other thing of garden stuff and wood. You have all in this street...

There are temples in every street, for, these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants; but the principal and the greatest pagodas are outside the city...

'In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade, which it has and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds. The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it, in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in palaces there are lakes, and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich-bearing fruit trees. Below the Mooriah quarter is a little river and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit trees, for the most part mangoes and areca palms and jack trees, and also many lime and orange trees growing so closely one to another that it appears like a thick forest, and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks of which I have spoken, outside the first enclosing wall.

'The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I would not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous, but I declare that no troops, horse or foot could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and elephants. This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn and a certain amount of barely and beans, *moong* pulse, horsegram and many other seeds which grow in this country, which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains since no one eats it except the Moors... The streets and the markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along with them, and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or else have to go by another way. For, the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which fail of supplies and provisions, for, in this one every thing abounds'.

NOTES

1. At least two inscriptions record Krishṇa's coronation. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 361-71 at Hampi. According to one inscription the date of the coronation was *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1430, *Sukla-Māgha*, equivalent to February 1510 A.D. The second also on stone and from the temple of Virupaksha at Hampi, *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1431 published in Sewell: *Lists* of *Antiquarian Remains*, Vol. I, page 107 seems to be the same as the one above. According to one inscription found at Hampi his coronation took place on a day in *Āvani* S. S. 1430, *Śukla*, *Māgha* etc., corresponding to about February 1510 (*E. C*. Vol. I, pp. 361-71 etc., at Hampi). But there are at least two inscriptions one dated 1430, *Prabhava*, equal to 1508-9 A.D. (R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar; *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p.237) which says that Krishṇa was reign ing then. But the figures being wrong the inscriptions on copper seem spurious. Another on a stone dated S.S. 1430 *Śukla Śrāvaṇa* etc., that it was about August 1509 A.D. being about 6 months earlier than his coronation date, suggests that his real succession must have preceded the formalities. Nuniz says (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 117). But as at least two inscriptions, one on copper (*E. C.* Vol. XIV, p. 231 at Conjeevaram) and another on stone (*M.E.R.* 421 of 1927-28, page 40 at Basrur), say that Vira Narasimha or Vira Bhujabala Rāya Narasinga Rāya was reigning in February and May 1510 A.D. respectively, we may take Krishṇa's reign as having begun between February and May 1510 A.D. From another source also (See *Kadajan Ms. Mad. Or. Mss. Lib.* No. 19-1-59) Krishna's coronation took place on *Sri Jayanti* 1432, *Sukla*, *Āvani māsam.*

2. The date of Krishna Deva Rāya's abdication and death are not definitely known. From Telugu literary sources we learn that king Krishna died in the year *Tārana*. . .which corresponds to 1524 A.D. But this is untenable in the light of many stone inscriptions of a later date recording him as reigning. For instance, C. K. 10 *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 120-122 at Budihālu. Belur 14: of 1914: *M.E.R.* dated 1525 *M.E.R.* 97 of 1913, page 79 at Kambaduru JI. 41 of 1526-27 *E. C.* Vol. XI, page 156 at Nibbaguru dated 1526-27 *M E.R.* 299 of 1912, page 38 at Atti. J. N. 49, *E. C.* Vol. IV, page 227 at Kālinganahalli *Ng*. 72 and 73, page 227 at Kālinganahalli, *Nanjangud* 187: *E. C.* Vol. III, page 213 at Ankusarāyanapura. Kadur 26: *E. C.* Vol. VI, page 12 at para all dated 1526. *M.E.R.* 101 of 1919: page 52 at Velur. *M.E.R.* 599 of 1919 page 37 at Conjeevaram, Mulbāgal 37 *E. C.* Vol. X, page 91 at Sonnavādi. *Nellore District Inscriptions,* Vol. II, Konduhar 77; pp. 615-18 at Singarāyakonda, Kadur 20: *E. C.* Vol. VI, page 10 at Yegati. *M.E.R.* 160 of 1922, page 67 as Kālahasti. Channapattana 24: *E. C.* Vol. IX, three copperplates, page 173 at Kotahalli. *M.E.R.* 4 of 1888, page 6 or *E.I.* Vol. 18, page 160 at Śrirangam (S.S. 1536). Shimoga 84 and 85 *E. C.* Vol. VII, page 65 and 67 at Kudli alį dated 1527. *M.E.R.* 439 of 1919, page 21 at Conjeevaram. Channapatna 7 and 15 *E. C.* Vol. IV, page 1 at Ummattur and page 3 at Aldur. Srirangapatna *I.E.C.* Vol. III, page 14 in Srirangapatna. *M.E.R.* 418 of 1919, page 19 at Conjeevaram. *M.E.R.* 692 of 1919, page 47 at Chippagiri. Dg. 106 *E. C.* Vol. XI, page 126 at Malabennuru. Chikkanāyakanahalli 37: *E. C.* Vol. XII, page 144 at Huliyur. *M.E.R.* 370 of 1912 and 323 of 1925, page 45 at Devikāpuram and page 51 at Maraba. *M.E.R.* 411 of 1927-28, page 39 at Basrur.

M.E.R. 367 of 1912, page 44 at Devikāpuram, all of 1528. *M.E.R.* 57 of 1904, page 32 at Kurugodu, 177 of 1903, page 20 at Kālahasti, 626 of 1904, page 25 at Nāgalāpuram, 424 of 1907, page 31 at Virupāndi of 1528-29. 194 of 1913, page 23 Hāvinahālu—Virapura. Chikkanāyakanahalli 83: *E. C. Tumkur District Supplementary*, Vol. XVI, page 20 at Pankajahalli. Srirangapattna revised inscription 2 *E. C.* Vol. XIV page 158 in Srirangapattna. *Mysore District Supplementary Volume* XIV, page *M.E.R.* 369 of 1912, page 45 Devikapuram. *M.E.R.* 7 of 1915, page 9 at Kumbakonam. *I.S.D.*, p. 427 No. 22 or Sewel: *Lists, Op. Cit.* Vol. I, page 96 *S. S.* 1451 at Paneni, No. XLVI *E.I.* Vol. I, p. 398 to 402 at Krishnāpura. *M.E.R.* 401 of 1926 page 71 at Katteragandla, *M.E.R.* 309 of 1926, page 63, Maravapalli Agrahāram. Dārsi 53 Vol. I, pp. 363-6 at Polāvaram, *Nellore District Inscriptions*. Malur 54: *E. C.* Vol. IX, page 71 at Biskur. *M E.R.* 512 of 1919, page 29 at Conjeevaram. *M.E.R.* 15 of 1915, page 58 at Srisailam or *I.C.D.*, p. 464 No. 152 all of 1529. *M.E.R.* 7 of 1915, page 9 at Kumbhakoṇam or *E. I.* Vol. XIV, page 168 No. 12, all of 1529. *M.E.R.* 217 of 1913, page 25 at Yalpi. *M.E.R.* 14 of 1915 both of 1530 A.D. One stone inscription from Tirumalai dated 1532 A.D. records a personal gift by him (See 567 of 1912 *M.E.R.*)

What seems strange is that another on stone from Arumakaulpalli in Hindupur taluk of Anantapur district dated in July 1541 A.D. says that Krishna Rāya made a gift of land to a certain Bali Reddi in July 1541 A.D., Two other records, both on copperplate and both dated in February 1542 A.D.claim to record personal gifts by him (See *M.A.R.* for 1924, p. 108 at Tumkur (Settihalli C.P.), inscription No. 123 and p. 111 at Tumkur (Lakshmisāgara C.P.), inscription No. 124 whether he lived or not so late as the last two inscriptions point out, we may safely take that his reign must have definitely come to a close in *circa* 1530 A.D., if not a few years earlier.

3. Belur 79: *E. C.* Vol. V, part I, page 151 in Belur. Also *Pārijātapaharanamu* by the poet Nandi Timmanna, *āsvāsa* II, verse 104 (Madras edition, 1916).

4. See Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Op.Cit.*, p. 157 ; *Krishna Rāya Mahābhārata, Shāntiparva*, verse 14 says that Krishṇa Rāya secured his position as king by 'the might of his arm' and thus ruled at Vidyānagara as 'the lord of the whole of Karnāta'.

5. See 240 of 1906, *M. E. R.*, or North Arcot 196, page 28 at Tirupanangādu, Sewell, *Lists, Op. Cit.* Vol. I p. 185 Arulala Perumal temple at Conjeevaram No. 220, 478 of 1919, page 25 at Conjeevaram *M.E.R.* 510 of 1909—*M. E.R.* 513 of 1919, *M.E.R.* 513 of 1919, *M.E.R.* page 29 at Conjeevaram. See also *Pārijātāpaharanamu Op. Cit. āsvāsa* I, verse 20 and 21 and *āsvāsa* V, verse 110, Also the Kannada author, Timmanna Kavi's *Kannada Mahābhārata* called also *Krishna Rāya Bhārata, Shānti Parva*, introductory *sandhi*, verses 2, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26 and 28; *Ibid, sandhi* 2, verse 108; *sandhi* III verse 112; *sandhi* IV, verse 111; *sandhi* V, verse 153, *sandhi* VI, verse 80; *sandhi* VII, verse 98; *sandhi* VIII, verse 103; *sandhi* IX, verse 70, *sandhi* IX, verse 86. *Anuśāsanika Parva, sandhi* I, verse 78; *sandhi* II, verse 50; *sandhi* III, verse 87; sandhi IV, verse 49; *sandhi* V, verse 79; *sandhi* VII verse 101, *sandhi* IX, verse 118;

Asvamedha Parva, sandhi IV, verse 123. *Svargārohana Parva, sandhi* I, verses 91 and 92.

6. Timmanna Kavi's *Op. Cit. Shāntiparva*, introductory *sandhi*, verses 11, 12 and 13. Nuniz records that Krishna had a wife by name Chinnā Devi, (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 362. Footnotes cited below are to Sewell's book), in whose honour he built a new city close to his capital, (p. 363). In Paes's *Chronicle* also (p. 246) there is a reference to this wife and the new city. According to both, she was at first a courtezan but later married the emperor (Paes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 248 and 362). Paes says that she was the mistress of the king in his youth, and Nuniz not only supports Peas's statement but also adds that the city built in her honour was named Nāgalāpur (p. 363). On p. 363, footnote 1, Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, however, identifies the place with the modern Hospet.

7. See 24 of 1906, *M.E.R.* (?) *North Arcot* 196-, *R.M.I.*), 687 of 1922, *M.E.R.* page 47 at Muddlāpuram, '*Kampli Sāsanamu*', p. 120, No. 1, Oriental Mss Library, Madras, Ms. No. 18-15-18, folio 205, p. i, No. 55; *ibid.*, folio 206, p. i, No. 56, folio 217, p. 2, No. 70; 714 of 1922, *M.E.R.* page 50 at Hampi. *Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of South India, Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, Appendix II, pp. 15-16, No. 5.

See also *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu, āsvāsa* II, introduction, verse 31 and *āsvāsa* II. *Amuktamālyada* refers not only to Tirumala Devi as Krishṇa's wife but mentions one Annapurṇā Devi also (*Ibid*: *Dithika*, verse 33). It is not known whether this means another of Krishṇa's queens or whether Annapurnā is only another form of Chinnā Devi.

8. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.

9. Sewell's *Lists of Autiquarian Remains* Vol. I, p. 107, Virupāksha temple at Hampi. Here the calculated date is 1509 A.D.

10. Orissa, taking advantage of these circumstances, was meditating an invasion of the Vijayanagar Empire (See quotations from Chaitanya's life, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1927.)

11. This will be in the month of January 1510 A.D. See *Commentaries de Grande Alfonso D'Alboquerque*, Vol. II, introduction p. LXIV.

12. February.

13. He is said to have been seven years of age in 1508 A.D. Briggs, *Op.Cit.* Vol. III, p. 211.

14. This was in May 1511 A.D.

15. £ 1541-13-4.

16. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 34.

17. *Commentaries de Grande Alfonso D'Alboquerque, Op. Cit.* and *Karnatāka Kavi Charite*.

18. But cousin, according to Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 187.

19. Ferista's *History of the Deccan*, (Scott's *Trans.* Vol. I, p. 229) Also Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 35-36.

20 & 21. According to the Mussalmān accounts, Raichoor and Mudgal were in their hands in 1510-11 A.D. This tallies with the version of *Rāya Vāchakamu* according to which Krishna Rāya secured these forts from the Muslims after his return from his Sivanasamudra expedition.

22. *Commentaries Alfonso D' Alboquerque*, *Op. Cit*. An inscription from Ugargol in Saundatti taluk of Belgaum district dated *Sālivāhana Saka* 1436, corresponding to 1514-15 A.D. records some additions to the local Yellamma temple by one Bāgi Bommappa Nāyaka during the time of Krishna Deva Rāya. *Archaeological Survey of West India* Vol. III, p. 115. The very fact that a local chief so far north acknowledges the Vijayanagara king as his overlord lends support to the conclusion that part or whole of the Belgaum district had transferred its allegiance to Vijayanagara in or shortly before 1514-15 A.D.

23. Krishṇa's final reply in July 1511 A.D. soon after Alboquerque's Mallacca victory is taken as the closing date of this transaction, though it began almost at the end of 1510 A.D.

24. Danvers, *Op. Cit*., Vol. I, p. 212. It is not clear, who first communicated this time; perhaps Vijayanagar re-opened the negotiations partly to congratulate Alboquerque on his recent victory and partly as a reply to Fray Luiz's Calicut embassy which had long been waiting without any reply.

25. *Commentaries Alfonso D' Alboquerque*, Vol. III, pp. 35-38 hints the date of the beginning of this campaign as 1511 A.D. Nuniz's statement that after he became king, Krishṇa stayed in Bisnaga for a year and a half without going outside of it also suggests this year. According to inscriptions the campaign was closed only in 1512 A.D.

26. Bedar in Kannada.

27. Malavaḷḷi 95: *E.C.* Vol. III, page 130 at Mutnahaḷḷi, Mysore.

28. This place is situated on the Cauvery close to the eastern frontier of Mysore.

29. Introductory verses in *Sangita Suryodaya* by Bhandāri Lakshmi Nārayāna.

30. *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal.*

31. *Krishna Rāya Vijayamu* (Madras edition, 1914) *āsvāsa* III, p. 62, para 6; or reproduction of the same on pp. 130-131, extract 39, S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History; Rāya Vāchakamu*, p. 118, extract 38 cited in S. K. Aiyangar: *Ibid. Pārijātāpaharanamu* by Nandi Timmaṇṇa, *āsvāsa* III, p. 60, verse 103, and *Commentaries of D' Alboquerque*. *Op. Cit*. also suggest this as the expedition which Krishṇa led early in his reign. In introductory verses, the word used in *Vijitya*, that is, overcome or conquered. But, Ganga Rājā is said to have committed suicide by falling over the precipice at Sivanasamudram according to both *Kongu-Desa-Rajakkal* and local tradition.

32. *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal*, p. 329.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 328. According to this work, the chief's name was Chikka Rāya. See also *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, canto II, verse 3; *Rāya-Vāchakamu*, p. 118, extract 38, *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu* by Kumāra Dhurjati, p. 130, all in S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources*, *Op. Cit*., and introductory verses of *Sangita Suryodaya*, by Bhandari Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa. The script of this work is in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.

Ummathur is in Chāmarājanagara taluk and Sivanasamudram in Malavaḷḷi taluk, both in the old Mysore district. According to *Kongu-Desa-Rājākkal* the capture of these places is said to have taken a little over one year. If so, basing our inference on the date mentioned by Nuniz, namely a year and a half

after Krishṇa's coronation, and on inscriptions that the *laksha-homa* ceremony was performed in the year of the capture of Sivanasamudra, Ummattur and Srirangapatna, the date would be 1511 A.D. The year *Prabhava* or 1507 A.D. however, will not agree with the above. As for epigraphical evidence, Malavaḷḷi 95: *E.C.* Vol. III, page 130 at Mutanahalli dated 1506-67 A.D. i.e., during the time of Bhujabala Pratāpa Narasimha, records that Malla Rāja, otherwise called Chikka Rāya and son of Devanna Odeyar of Ummattur, made a gift. A second lithic record from Erode in Coimbatore, dated 1510-11 A.D., mentions a Chikka Rāya, evidently the same (*M.E.R.* 17 of 1891 page 12 at Erode). A third from Yelandur taluk in Mysore district, dated about July 1511 A.D. makes a reference to a M. M. Gangarāja Odeyar (See Yelandur Revised Inscriptions 15: *E.C.* Vol. XIV, page 277 at Duggahatti, *Mysore District Suppl.* Vol.). A fourth from Māgadi taluk in Bangalore district dated about August 1511 A.D. says that a Vira Chikka Odeyaru made a gift (See Māgadi 79; *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 74 at Bittishadra). A fifth, from Kollegal taluk, Coimbatore district dated *Śālivāhana Saka* 1434, *Āngirsa* i.e., 1512-3 A.D. records a gift by Vira Immadi Chikka Rāya Odeyer, one of Vira Nanja Rāya Odeya. (See *M.E.R.* 23 of 1910 page 55 at Kunthur). At all events, we may safely admit that a Chikka Rāya, Chikka Odeyaru, or Chikka Rāya Odeyaru, who was known as Malla Rāja and who was a Ganga Chief was alive at least in the middle of 1512 A.D., if not later. So, if Krishṇa Deva Rāya took Sivanasmudra and other places, it must be after this date only.

34. See *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu*, extract 39, p. 130 of S. K. Aiyangar; *Sources*, *Op. Cit.* and *Rāya Vāchakamu*, extract 38, on p. 118, *ibid.* See also *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal.* Arogiaswamy, *Op. Cit.* p. 328, and *Pārijātā-paharanamu*, Canto II, verse, or its quotation in extract 41 p. 141, of S. K. Aiyangar, *Op. Cit.*

35. Paes, the Portuguese chronicler, mentions one Cumaravirya, who was, according to this statement, the father-in-law of Krishna and the king of Srirangapatna. (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 269). Nuniz notices two high military officers under Krishṇa Rāya, one called Comara and said to be the leader of 80,000 foot, 2500 horse and 60 elephants, and another Comara Berca, leader of 8000 foot, 400 horse and 20 elephants, (*Ibid*, p. 327). Nuniz also calls the latter Comaraberya, and adds that he was Krishṇa's father-in-law and that he was the king of Srirangapatna. On p. 269. footnote 1 of his book, Sewell interprets, the name as Kumāra. Virayya. He does not, however, agree with Paes that he was the king of Srirangapatna, but the son of the same. On p. 327, footnote 4, he identifies Cumaraberca or Cummarberea of Nuniz with the same writer's Comarberya, and interprets it as standing for Kumāra Vijaya of Mysore. But, taking together the statements of both Paes and Nuniz, he was, no doubt, Kumāra Virayya, Chief of Srirangapatna. As Virayya can be an abbreviation for Vira, Virappa or Virayya Gowda, the inference is strong that the Virappa Gowda, whom the Rāya appointed in charge of Srirangapatna; must be none else.

From epigraphs (e.g., *M.E.R.* No. 213 of 1926, page 54 at Sendalai, *Sālivāhana Saka* 1433), we learn that in about July 1511 A.D., one Virayya Dānāyaka Odeyar made a gift to 'secure victory' to Krishṇa Rāya and himself. The hoped for victory may be the one with reference to the Ganga chief. Mysore 32:

E.C. Vol. III, page 8 at Guru about August 1516 A.D. mentions a Virappa Odeya, son of Chikkodeyar. Mysore 5: *E.C.* Vol. III of about November 1517 A.D. repeats the same contents and adds that Chikkodeyar belonged to Srirangapattana. Srirangapatna 10: *E.C.* Vol. III, page 17 in Seringapatna of about February 1517 A.D. says that one Verappa Odeyar was the son of Vira Vodeyar.

These references establish that there was one Virappa Odeyar, known also by his title of Chikka Odeyar, who was called, in short, Virayya or Virappa. By his title of Chikka Odeyar or little prince and his association with Srirangapatna, we may conclude that he must be the same as the Kumāra Virayya or Virappa, father-in-law of Krishṇa, to whom both Paes and Nuniz refer.

36. *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal*, Arogiaswamy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 325.

37. Brown: *Local Records*, Vol. XIX, p. 39: and *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal*.

38. The other two officers mentioned in this account, namely Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyaka and Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka were definitely of a later date. As for the third, Venkatappa Nāyaka, nothing in known about him.

39. There is some reference to a Bommi Reddy in this connection. See *Gurijāda, Op. Cit*, p. 526 Rāmamurthy was the author of *Kavi-Jivitamulu*.

40. *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal*. As we know from other sources that a Krishnappa Nāyaka was the founder of the Jinji principality in the later days of Vijayanagar, and as he bore nearly the same titles as those borne by another Krishnappa Nāyaka, chief of Belur in the Mysore State, and as in epigraphs the latter is said to have received this principality as a gift from Krishna Rāya, it is possible that Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Jinji also received his own as a reward for services rendered to the same overlord. That likewise, Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka was appointed to the charge of Tanjore and a Venkatappa Nāyaka further south as related in *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal* are both untenable, as we know that Chevvappa was the first ruler of the former and that he got it from Achyuta Deva Rāya and Visvanātha Nāyaka, son of Nāgamma Nāyaka, was the founder of the Nāyakship of Madurai.

41. From Hindu sources, (see *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu āsvāsa* III, pp. 62 and 63, paras 6 and 9; *Rāya-Vāchakamu*, extract 38, in S. K. Aiyangar: *Op. Cit.* p. 118) we learn that Krishna recovered Raichoor, Mudgal and other places from the Adil Shāh during the early years of his reign soon after his return from the Sivanasamudram expedition. As we know on the authority of Nuniz that Krishna left Vijayanagar on his career of conquests a year and a half after his coronation, the beginning of Sivanasamudram expedition would be 1509 A.D. *plus* one and a half years i.e., about 1510-11 A.D. As he must have spent at least a few months, (one year according to *Kongu-Desa-Rājakkal*), for the capture of Sivanasamudram and other places before turning north towards the Bijāpur frontier, we get on to the year 1511 A.D. for his return. This is further strengthened by the statement of Ferista that '17 years' before 1529-30, that is. 1512-13, Vijayanagar had taken Mudgal and Raichoor (Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 66).

42. Belur 79: *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 151 in Belur, where *Saka* 1434, *āngirasa*, *āsvayuja* corresponding to about October 1512 A.D. is given.

43. This is according to *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu*, canto III, verse 7, giving the name as Sankula Naika. According to *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, *āsvāsa* II,

verse 7, it was Sadāsiva Rāya Nāyaka, son of Choudappa Nāyaka, that met Krishṇa Rāya, when he passed through his territory. *Rāya-Vachakamu* gives the version that, after settling matters at Srirangapattana, he passed through or close by Ikkeri, reviewed the troops of Sukkula Nāyaka and then marched towards the frontier of Bijāpur. Inasmuch as Sadāsiva Nāyaka is said to have captured Kalyāni and Kalburgi, and defeated the Shalu chiefs and Barid also during the campaign, we have to conclude that the above two must be different and on different occasions.

44. *Rāya Vāchakamu*, extract 38, p. 118, in S. K. Aiyangar. *Sources* and *Krishna Rāya Vijayamu*, Madras Edition, 1914, p. 63, para 9.

45. Briggs: *Op. Cit*. Vol. III, p. 44: and Scott: *The History of Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 236. 46. *Ibid.*

47. This war and the battles fought in the course of it are well detailed by both *Rāya-Vāchakamu* (extract 38, pp. 118-119 in S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, *Krishna Rāya Vijayamu*, *āsvāsa* III, pp. 63-71 and also The History of the Kings of Golkonda, Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 355-358). The details and the results of the war, however, differ according to Hindu and Muslim points of view. As for the date, the anonymous author of the History of Golkonda places it early in Kuli Kutub's reign after he had assumed the formalities of royalty. (Briggs, *Op. Cit.* III, pp. 354-358). Ferista, however, gives 1512 A.D. for this event. Hence, this serves as some sort of key to it.

According to a *Kadajan Manuscript* No. 19.1.59 in the Madras Oriental Manuscript Library, it was in *Prajotpatti*, *Māsm*, *Tedi* 12 that Krishna Deva Rāya marched against Kutub and Nizam Shāh and carried on the war for three years when he planted his victory pillar at Kalavarige, that is Gulburga and collected three tributes from kingdoms before he returned to Vijayanagar.

Three years from 1511 A.D. will carry the date to 1514 A.D. But *Prajotpatti*, *Tai*, falling in about January 1512 A.D., we have to interpret the above as very nearly the beginning of Krishṇa's wars with both the Adil Shāh and the Kutub Shāh. If, however, the Rāya passed through Sivaganga before and not after his campaign against the Adil Shāh and the Kutub Shāh, the date given by the *Kadajan* will have to be pushed forward beyond October 1512 A.D. As *M.E.R.* 180 of 1913, page 21 at Bukkāpatnam says that Krishṇa was still at Sivanasamudra in *Āngirasa*, *Suddha*, etc., corresponding to 1512-1513 A.D. the above campaign could not have been earlier than the middle of 1512 A.D.

48. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 132.

49. The place yet remains unidentified. The account given here is mostly based upon *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu* and *Rāya vāchakamu.* Can it be Nirodi mentioned in *Manu Charitra*?

50. This is according to *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu*, Chapter III, verse 10 but *Rāya-Vāchakamu* has Bidar in place of Ahmadnagar. (See S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12).

51. The account of this battle given here is mostly based upon Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 355-356.

52. The place is about 50 miles east of Raichoor.

53. This place is about 50 miles north-east of Raichoor and about 20 miles north of Pangal.

54. As the Hindu accounts say that the Rāya never crossed the Krishṇa and the Mohamadan accounts refer to a conflict with his army, this is the only possible inference.

55. This is according to *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu*, Chapter III, verse 50.

56. This place is about 45 miles to the east of Anantapur.

57. *Commentaries D' Alboquerque*, Vol. III, p. 247.

58. A stone inscription from Hampi of date *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1435, *Bhāva* etc., corresponding to 1513-14 A.D. records that Krishṇa Deva Rāya built the Krishṅaswami temple in 1513 A.D., after his return from his conquest of Udayagiri (Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 106-107 at Hampi. *Ibid*, p. 140 at Udayagiri Hill *M.E.R.* 25, 26 of 1889, page 2. *M.E.R.* 53 of 1889, page 2). A stone inscription of Udayagiri hill of date *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1436, *Bhāva, Jyestha* corresponding to June 1514 A.D. says that Krishṇa was then encamping at Udayagiri 40: *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 1386-1387 at Udayagiri Hill.

The last of the above inscriptions suggests that the capture of Udayagiri was over by June 1514 A.D. As, according to Nuniz (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 316), it is said that the siege of the place lasted for a year and a half, it should have begun by about the beginning of 1513 A.D.

59. Brown: *Local Records*, Vol. XIX, pp. 125-188. His name is variously pronounced as Tirumala Deva Rāya Mahāpātra (*Ibid*), Tirumala Preyāta Rāya Māhapātra and so on. (*Dharanikota Inscriptions* and Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 140). See also Nuniz's account in Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

60. It is said that on this occasion he was accompanied by the chiefs of Āraveedu, Oruganti, Gobbaru, Nandyāl, Velugoti Rāvilla and the princes from Tuluva country. (*Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu, āsvasā* III, p. 57).

61. Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire, Op. Cit.*, p. 317.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu, āsvāsa* III, p. 63.

64. See *M.E.R.* 25 and 26 of 1889 and *M.E.R.* 53 of 1889, p. 2. The first two inscriptions suggest that the date of the capture of Udayagiri was necessarily earlier, without which the image of Bālakrishna could not have been brought from the place. The last inscription records that, after capturing Udayagiri, Krishṇa Deva Rāya pursued Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati as far as Kondavidu. Unfortunately, the name of the month is not available in either. But, in as much as Kandukur 27: *N.D.I.* Vol. II, page 536-38, at Gundlāpalem notices Rāyasam Kondamarasayyagāru as ruling Udayagiri in *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1436, *Bhāva, Bhādrapada*, that is about September 1514 A.D., the capture of the place must have been earlier. Podili 4 and 36: *N.D.I.* Vol. III, page 1155-56 at Chilamakur and page 1197-1200 at Podili, dated in *Srāvana*, or August of 1514 A.D. refering to Kondamarasa as a local officer, suggests that it must have been before August. Udayagiri 40: Vol. III page 1386-87 at Udayagiri Hill of date *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1436, *Bhāva, Jyeshta* corresponding to June 1514 A.D. *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 1387) says that Krishṇa Rāya made a gift while encamping on Udayagiri hill.

65. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 46 and Scott: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 198 and pp. 236-237.

66. This place is about 30 miles south of Gulburga and about 45 miles northwest of Rāichoor.

67. This place is about 30 miles northeast of Sholāpur.

68. Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I. p. 307 and *Commentaries D'Alboquerque*, Vol. IV, pp. 1212-1244.

69. *Ibid.*

70. This place is about 36 miles south-west of Bijāpur. The account of this battle is mostly based upon the Kannada work *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, pp. 30-32 and Nuniz (Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire, Op. Cit.*,) and *Yāvana Rāiya Sthāpanāchārya*. Compare Ferista's date of Bahamani disintegration.

71. This was a Bijāpur officer. See Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

72. This must be without doubt Dustoor-Ool-Mulk, chief of Gulburga.

73. This is about 30 miles west of Bidar. The account of its capture given here is wholly based upon the Kannada work *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, p. 32.

74. Can this be the same as Dhulkhed, about 30 miles south of Sholāpur?

75. This is according to the *History of the Pālegars of Gummanāyakanahaḷḷi*, pp. 63-64.

76. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, p. 32. I am unable to identify the place.

77. *History of the Pālegars of Gummanāyakanahaḷḷi*, pp. 63-64.

78. *Ibid.*

79. S. K. Aiyangār: *Sources, Op. Cit.* It is possible that this name is the south Indian form of Kalyāṇa Rao Guzār, perhaps a Marāthā officer under Vijayanagar.

80. There are two places of this name; one south of the Krishṇa and about 40 miles north-west of Rāichoor, and the other close to Badāmi and north of Malaprabhā.

81. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 127.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. Nuniz' account, Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, p. 303.

85. The place of the battle is only circumstantial. Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, Vol. II, page 129 at Meduru for an inscription at Meduru on the banks of the Krishṇa in Guntoor district which says that Krishṇa Deva Rāya fought a battle there with [rest not decipherable]. This, when taken with Nuniz's account of Krishṇa's battle with the Orissa king, suggests the possibility of Medur (?) particularly as the situation answers well.

86. This place is about 15 miles south-west of Guntur.

87. Dharanikota inscription. Also Amarāvati inscription, Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.* I, page 64.

88. See Nuniz's account in Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 318.

89. According to *Amukta Mālyada*, introduction, verse 36, after capturing Kondaveedu, he killed a Kesavapātra there, perhaps the same as the above.

90. See Dharanikota inscription of date *Śaka* 1437 and Simhāchalam inscription of *Śaka* 1438, Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, page 16, at Simhāchalam.

91. Dāvangere 107: *E. C.* Vol. XI, page 127 at Maḷebennuru and Nuniz's account (Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 304).

92. Same as Comdamara of Nuniz. This refers to Kondamarasu.

93. See his Ahobilam inscription of *Śaka* 1438 (Sewell, *Lists, Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, page 101, at Ahobilam). This place is in the taluk of Karnool district and about 40 miles to the north of Cadapa.

94. See *Amuktamālyada*, introduction, prose quoted on p. 134 extract 40 of S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. Cit.*

95. and 96. *Ibid.*, Verse 36.

97. Nuniz's account in Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire, Op. Cit.*, p. 318.

98. *Madras Epigraphists Collection* 243 of 1899 page 39 at Simhāchalam and 245 of 1899, page 40 at Simhāchalam.

99. See Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, pp. 318 and 319.

100. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, p. 33.

1. Belur 79: *E. C.* Vol. V, Part I, page 151 in Belur dated 1512 A.D. does not mention this, not necessarily due to oversight but because Krishṇa Rāya had not yet achieved the restoration of the Bahamani kingdom. The Dharanikota inscription of 1515 A.D. is among the first to record it. This means that the event suggested by the title must have happened after October, 1512 A.D. and before July 1515 A.D. As Krishna Rāya was engaged in his Gajapati wars in 1513 A.D. and 1515 A.D., these two years must be eliminated from the probables. Political events in the Bahamani and Shāhi kingdoms suggest that it must have been in 1514 A.D. See M. H. Rāma Sharma: Krishṇa Deva Rāya, as Yavana-Rājya-Sthāpanāchārya. All India Oriental Conference papers (1935).

2. Hassan 13: *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 12 Bettugondahaḷḷi marks the date of Krishṇa Rāya's return from his conquests from which six months have to be subtracted as indicated above to get at the beginning date of this expedition.

3. Somewhere to the north of the Madras Presidency, not yet identified.

4. Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 304.

5. Introduction to *Amuktamālyada*, prose quoted on p. 134 extract 40 of S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. cit.*, Srikākulamor Chikkakole is the head-quarter of a taluka in Ganjām district.

6. Hassan 13: *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 12, at Bittugondahaḷḷi.

7. Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, Vol. I, p. 91 at Srisailam.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86, No. 228. *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1438 (1517), Conjeevaram.

9. Pāvagada 4 of 1517 A.D.: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 193 at Pāvagada recording a personal grant by Krishṇa from his capital is the earliest reference so far in inscriptions of his presence at Vijayangar after his Orissa campaign.

10. Nuniz's account, Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 307.

11. The whole of the following account is almost a verbatim quotation from the *Dhārwār Gazetteer*, p. 440, which draws its materials from the Bombay Government Revenue Records.

12. This is only an inference in the light of the political history of the Empire. No evidence is available to settle this definitely.

13. Another measurement of 7 feet, 6 and 6/10 inches also appears to have been in use.

14. It is doubtful whether this could be a Vijayanagar measure.

15. See *Dhārwār Gazetteer, Op. Cit.*, p. 441, for the original quotation and authority.

16. It is doubtful whether this was a Vijayanagar measure.

17. See *Dhārwār Gazetteer: Op. Cit.*, or the Bombay Government Revenue Record 549 of 1834 for original materials.

18. According to *Dhārwār Gazetteer*, p. 441 footnote, this appears to be the area which a drill plough could sow in a day.

19. *Ibid* or *Bombay Government Selections, CLV* 75 for original materials.

20. Ferista gives A.H. 927 or 1519 A.D. for the beginning of this war. Briggs: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 48.

21. There is no mention of this by Ferista, but the fact that the fort was held by the Adil Shāhi troops at this time leads to it.

22. The account of this expedition is almost wholly based upon Nuniz.

23. According to Ferista it amounted to at least 50,000 horse, besides a vast host of foot. Briggs: *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, p. 49.

24. Nuniz's account, Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire, Op. Cit.*, p. 311 and 312.

25. The exact place of the battle remains to be identified; the date 1520 A.D. given for this is arrived at with the help of that given by Nuniz about the fall of Raichoor.

26. But according to Ferista the *Śhāhi* forces consisted of only 7,000 cavalry composed entirely of foreigners, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 49.

27. These figures are according to Ferista. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 50.

28. *Ibid.*

29. According to Ferista, the Hindu general on this occasion was one Sungut Ray, and he lost his life in the course of the charge he made. Briggs. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 50.

30. *Ibid.*. p. 321.

31. See Ferista's account in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 50.

32. This place is said to have occupied the site of the present Hospet. According to one account it was built in memory of Krishna's mother and according to another that of his courtezan, both of whom were called Nāgalā.

33. This is the Portuguese mispronunciation of a Mussalmān name.

34. In this connection it must be remembered that the kings of Vijayanagar, who considered themselves the equals of the Bahamani sovereigns, held that the Shāhi princes, who were the subordinates of the latter, were of a status lower than themselves. Besides this, Yoosuf Adil Shāh's promise of submission to Narasa Naik, Krishṇa's father, on the battlefield of Mauri had perhaps something to do with this demand.

35. Ferista does not notice this incident at all. Here we follow the account of Nuniz. The date is but a surmise based on the order of relation of the story.

36. and 37. Here again the date is but a guess based on Nuniz's account. Ferista is silent as usual.

38. This date is a mere guess following the order of Nuniz's account of the Simhāchalam inscription of 1516 A.D. Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains, Op. Cit.*, I, page 16 at Simhāchalam (*S.S.* 1438). If the restoration of the Bahamani sovereignty is to be seriously taken, then the above dates require change.

39. In *Amuktamālyada*, verse 41, there is reference to Mussalmāns in a general way only. When this is taken together with Nuniz account it can only mean the Bijāpuri army.

40. See *Amuktamālyada*, verse 42, Extract No. 46, p. 133 in S. K. Aiyangar *Sources, Op. Cit.*

41. About 12 miles to the south west of Gulburga (see *Sangeeta Suryodaya* for an account of this battle).

42. See Nuniz's account and Poddanna's *Manucharitram*, chapter II, verse 8.

43. See Nuniz's account. Also Simhāchalam inscription which gives the title of *Yavana Rājya Sthāpanāchārya* to Krishṇa in 1516 (Sewell: *Lists Op. Cit.*, I, page 16, at Simhāchalam).

44. One pardaeo was worth 360 resis.

45. This is according to Nuniz who gives no date for this. Ferista is also silent. Nuniz's account in Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 270.

46. Salsette. Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 142.

47. Ponda. Sewell, *Op. Cit.*, p. 158.

48. Nuniz, on whose statement this account of Krishṇa's abdication is based, gives no date for it. Channapatna 153: *E.C.* IX, page 205 at Abbur of the last months of 1523 A.D. records a personal grant by Krishṇa to the famous religious leader Vyāsa Thirtha. Only grants issued in the months of *Bhādrapada* (Moodagere 62: *E.C.* Vol. VI, page 159 at Kalasa) and *Pushya* (Hoskote 57: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 116, at Siddenhaḷḷi) of the next year record Krishṇa as reigning. The earliest reference to Thirumala Rāya is in *Vaiśākha* of the year *Tārana* (1524 A.D. Māgadi 6: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 62 at Tirumale). The last is in *Mārgasira* (Māgadi 82: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 75 at Mārenahaḷḷi), From 1525 A.D. onwards, inscriptions of Krishṇa as the reigning sovereign continue without interruption. So we may take the date of abdication of Krishṇa and the coronation of his son to have happened sometime about Vaiśākha of *Tārana* (1524 A.D.) and the death of the prince about *Mārgasira* of the same year. The only explanations for the inscriptions that refer to Krishṇa as a reigning sovereign within this period. (See Belur 78 and 79: *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 160 in Belur and *E.C.* Vol. V, part I, page 151 in Belur. Moodagere 62: *E.C.* Vol. VI, page 159 at Kalasa.) are either as merely complimentary to Krishṇa i.e., that though his son was in form a king) he was so in fact. Note also the period between *Vaiśākha* of *Tārana* (1524 A.D.. and *Mārgasira* of the same year nicely fits into the 'eight months' of rejoicings and festivities in honour of Tirumala's coming to the throne as stated by Nuniz.

49. See the narrative of Paes on p. 247 of Sewell's *The Forgotten Empire.* According to Nuniz they were four (*Ibid.*, p. 363).

50. Nuniz calls her Chinadevi: that is, Chinnā Devi (*Ibid*, page 362). As according to the same author, the city, which Krishṇa built in the name of his sweetheart, was named Nāgalāpur (p. 363) it must be that Chinnā Devi had an alternate name of Nāgalā Devi.

51. See *Rāya Vāchakamu*, extract 38, p. 126 S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources, Op. Cit.*, and *Tukka Panchakam* extract 44, p. 143 in *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.* 53. *Ibid.*

54. See *Madras Epigraphical Report* 272 of 1897, page 14 at Amarāvati and Kampli Sāsanamu No. 70: folio 217, p. 2, *Madras Oriental Library Manuscript* No. 18-15-18. *M.E.R.* 66 of 1889: page 2 at Tirumalai, and *M.E.R.*

9 of 1904, page 30 at Hampi. *R.M.I.* Vol. II, page 911 at 20, *M.E.R.* 245 of 1889, page 40, at Simhāchalam. The Telugu work *Manucharitramu* supports the above version. Also *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, *āsvāsa* V, verse 1; *āsvāsa* II, verse 104, and *āsvāsa* V, verse 1, repeat the same. So also does *Amuktamālyada*, introduction, verse 33. Also see the inscription on one of the icons in Tirumala temple. But in *Amuktamālyada*, (introductory verse 33) one Annapurna Devi appears in place of Chinnama Devi. We do not know whether this refers to another wife of Krishṇa, or was only an alternate name for Chinnā Devi. From a number of other sources also we learn that Krishṇa had a wife by name Chinnāji or Chinnama Devi. See the inscription on the icons in Tirumale temple. According to Nuniz's narrative on pp. 362 and 363 of Sewell: *The Forgotten Empire*, Chinnā Devi was known by the name of Nāgalā also.

55. See Dharmakota inscription of date 1515 A.D., p. 506 of *Kavi-Jivitamulu* by Gurajāda Ramamurthy, and *E.I.* Vol. VII, p. 17. No. 3 Amarāvati *S.S.* 1437, *M.E.R.* 266 of 1897, page 13 at Amarāvati, Sewell: *Lists*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I. p. 16. *Kampli Sāsanams*, folio 217, p. 2, No. 70, Madras Oriental Library Manuscript No. 18-15-18 and *M.E.R.* Folio 205, p. 1, No. 55. *M.E.R.* 65 of 1889, page 2 at Tirumalai. *R.M.I.* Vol. I, et. 20, No. 245 at Tirupati, page 475 at Chittoor. Also the Telugu work *Manucharitramu* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, *āsvāsa* IV, canto I, verse 1, p. 139. Aiyangar, *Sources: Op. Cit.*, support this version. Also see inscription on one of the icons in Tirumalai temple.

56. That Krishṇa had a son by this name in 1524 A.D. who was called a king or Mahārāya is established by Māgadi 82: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 75 at Mārenahalli and Māgadi 6: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 62 at Tirumalai. The earliest inscription for this prince is dated, *Tārana*, *Vaiśākha Śuddha 13* and the last *Mārgasira Śuddha* 2 of the same year.

57. The above two inscriptions and Nuniz's account support this statement.

58. This account is mostly based upon Nuniz. At least one inscription on stone of date 1525 records a gift made by one Sākshi Chinnama Nāyaka, who is declared to be a son of Krishṇa Deva Rāya. (See Hospet 57: *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 116 at Siddenhaḷḷi). As this name is not identical with Tirumala, the better known son of the king, and as Chinnama did not succeed to the throne we have to conclude that he was perhaps an illegitimate offspring. Hassan, 111: *E.C.* Vol. V, page 69 at Muttatti refers to one Singappa Nāyaka as the son of Venkatādri's son and Krishṇa Deva Rāya's grandson.

59. As Sāluva Thimmaiah's imprisonment is said to have been directly due to prince Timmaiah's death, we may tentatively take the last months of 1524 A.D. for this incident. To this may be added the further evidence, namely, that inscriptions issued by and in the name of Sāluva Timmayya in his viceroyalty of Kondaveedu province as well as elsewhere cease to make any reference to him after 1524 A.D. (See T. Narasipur 42 and 73: *E.C.* Vol. III, page 149 at Kaliyur and *E.C.* Vol. III, page 162 at Mādāpura. Chāmarāja Nagar 99: and Krishṇā District Inscriptions: *E.C.* Vol. IV, page 23 and Haralukote) Sewell: *Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, page 40, discussion under Krishna's abdication.

60. See Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, page 80. This is not possible to substantiate, as Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 A.D. and two dynasties, the Sangama and the Sāluva, both not Tuluvas, had ruled and gone.

61. We do not know to whom Ferista refers by the word 'Shew Ray'. Some of the events seem to refer to Krishṇa Deva Rāya, in whose reign we come across some inscriptions, under the name of a Sadāśiva Rāya (See R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar: *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 239, No. 5 dated C. 1510; *Bangalore District Supplementary Volume*, Revised Inscription No. 33 dated 1519; Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 116, No. 8 (doubtful reference) dated 1519-20; *Madras Epigraphical Report* 317 of 1926, page 64 at Mushturu, dated C. 1520-21; *Ibid.* 378 of 1923, page 30 at Mānampadi dated 1529).

It seems that Krishṇa Rāya had an alias and perhaps the reference is to him when Ferista speaks of a 'Shew Ray', (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 81). Ferista says that Rāmarāya had married a daughter of Shew Ray and by that alliance had added to his influence and power. This shows clearly that by Shew Ray Krishṇa Deva Rāya is meant. As for Timraj or Timma Rāja or Timmarasu meaning Appāji being Rāmarāja's father, it is incorrect because we know from Nuniz that Timma was imprisoned in about 1524 A.D. In inscriptions also he does not appear after this. From many sources, literary and epigraphical we learn that the name of Rāmārāya's father was Sri Rānga Rāja and not Timmarāja.

62. If it is Krishṇa Rāya's death, it must be about 1530 A.D. or, according to some not so-accurate literary versions, about 1524 A.D. Ferista, however, introduces this para about Vijayanagar affairs 'in the year after his (Ibrahim Adil Shāh's) accession', (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 80); this is about 1535 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 83). But this date, instead of falling within Krishṇa Rāya's reign, carries us forward to the middle of Achyuta Rāya's. If we interpret some events related in Ferista's account as only introductory and hence referring to earlier years, then the minor son, who did not long survive Ferista's 'Shew Rāy', could be no other than Tirumala I for whom we have some inscriptions from 1524 A.D. to 1529 A.D. The 'younger brother', who succeeded the minor, must necessarily be taken as the younger brother of 'Shew Ray'. As for Achyuta, his reign is generally accepted to have begun in 1530 A.D. This, no doubt, cannot answer for the suggested year for some events related by Nuniz as these seem to fall in about 1524 A.D. It may be said that Krishṇā's son Tirumala I's inscriptions also appear in about 1524 A.D., if we trust Ferista's version, we have to settle this date for Shew Rāy's death and his son's accession. But as the latter is said to have survived his father for not any long time, the 'younger brother' of 'Shew Ray', that is, Achyuta, must have begun to reign in about 1524 A.D. and not 1530 A.D. as it is generally taken. Notwithstanding this, there is a good number of inscriptions earlier than 1530 A.D. which claim Achyuta as reigning. (See Maddur 55: *E.C.* Vol. III, page 95 at Huragalavādi dated 1521 (1534 A.D.); *M.E.R.* 272 of 1913, page 31 at Chidambaram (S.S. 1461) or *I.S.D.* 162, dated 1521; R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 241 dated 1517-18; *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nellore 34A; page 802-804 at Kammārapudi dated 1526; Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, p. 419; *M.E.R.* 61 and,

294 of 1897, page 15 at Manimarigālam, both dated 1526-27; *M.E.R.* 169 of 1901, page 20 at Manigarakeri dated 1527-8; *M.E.R.* 83 of 1923, page 69 dated 1529. at Gubbi (BG) 32: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 42 at Sampige dated 1529: *M.E.R.* 104 of 1919, page 57 at Velur, dated 1529; *M.E.R.* 514 of 1913, page 55 in Madras Museum, dated 1529; *M.E.R.* 394 of 1912, page 47 at Devikāpuram. Sorab 39: *E.C.* Vol. VIII *M.E.R.* 295 of 1897, page 15 at Manimangalam. *M.E.R.* 22 of 1910, page 55 at Kunthur. *I.C.D.* No. 141, p. 93. *M.E.R.* 385 of 1912, page 46 at Devikāpuram. *I.C.D.* No. 19, p. 338 all dated 1529-30 etc., etc.).

As against this we have numerous inscriptions of Krishṇa during the period 1524 A.D. to 1530 A.D. Whether Achyuta Rāya began to rule in 1524 A.D. or 1530 A.D., in the words of Ferista 'not long after', he died leaving 'an infant only three months old'. Here, inasmuch as we know from other sources that Achyuta Rāya died in 1542 A.D. Ferista's 'not long after' is vaguely indicative of that date. With regard to his leaving an 'infant only three months old', it is partly correct. Achyuta's immediate successor, for what we know at present, was his own son Venkatādri or Venkata Deva Rāya I.

63. Nuniz gives no name for him.

64. We arrive at this date on the basis that Timma Danāyaka's as well as his father's imprisonment took place in 1524 A.D. 1524+3=1527 A.D.

65. Perhaps Kondaveedu where most of his relatives lived.

66. See *Keladi Nripa Vijaya.* It is better to put this before 1514 A.D. (Sadāsiva Nāika's death) and attribute this to Mathiya Timma, another rebel.

67. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya* calls the rebel Mattiya Timma or Timma of Matti. This place is said to be close to Dāvangere in Chitradurga district of Mysore State.

68. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 217.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 56 and p. 218.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 56. But in his Nizam Shāhi Narrative, Ferista says that the Adil Shāh sent only 500 horse (*Ibid.*, p. 219).

72. This is only tentative. The date requires further investigation.

73. See pp. 360 to 364, Vol. III of Briggs translation of *The History of Mohamed Kule Kutub Shah* by an anonymous author.

74. The anonymous author of Kule Kutub Shāh's history, (Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III) gives no date for this 1529 A.D. in above is only tentative arrived at by a comparison of the account by the author with the Kondapalli inscription noticed by Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.

75. We get at this date partly with the help of inscriptions which give 1529-30 A.D. as the last year of Krishna's reign and also by passing references by Ferista (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 219) in his narative of Ahmadnagar history. When he says that the army of Vijayanagar was then encamped near Raichoor (*Ibid.*, p. 219) and that this incident coincided with Bahadur Shāh's invasion of Ahmadnagar territory for which he gives the date (*Ibid.*, page 56).

76. This is Nuniz's version. But it is probable that the Adil Shāh ordered a retreat as the Deccan kingdoms were then threatened by the invasion of Bahadur Shāh of Gujarāt and more especially in response to appeals for help

from his neighbour and relative, the king of Ahmadnagar, to whose aid he had sent 10 lakhs of *hoons* and 6,000 horse. Briggs ,*Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 56.

77. There is at present no direct means of knowing the exact date of his death. Krishṇa's last inscriptions are mostly in 1529 A D. and one in 1530 A.D. (Canelu Kāmākshi temple inscription, Kānchi No. 84 in *S.S* 1452 (1930) and No. 85 in *S.S.* 1451 (1529). Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 181), and as Achyuta's regular series of inscriptions begin in 1530 A.D., we have to take that he ended his life towards the close of 1529 A.D. or beginning of 1530 A.D.

78. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 135.

79. The Kannada work *Krishṇa Rāya Mahābhārata*, *Shāntiparva*, verse 18 says that Krishṇa's military reputation was equal to that of his father.

80. *Ibid.*, verse 19.

81. *Ibid.*, verse 13.

82. See colophon of canto V, *Rāmābhyudaya* in extract 30, p. 85, of S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources: Op. Cit.* He seems to be the same as the author of *Sāluvābhyudaya* and perhaps survived till Krishna's coronation.

83. Viresalingam Pantalu's *Āndhra-Kavi-Charitramu*, part I, p. 183. Also G. R. Subbarāmaiah Pantulu: *Some Milestones in Telugu Literature*, p. 47.

84, 85 and 86. That these three poets lived during the reign of Krishna Deva Rāya is borne out by the statement in Rāyavāchakamu in extract 38, p. 121 of S. K. Aiyangar *Sources, Op. Cit.* and *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayamu*, *āsvāsa* III, verse 48, (page 71 Vavilla publication, 1914).

87. See the Kannada work *Krishnarāya Māhābhārata* by Timmanna Kavi, son of Bhānu Kavi of Bhāradwāja Kula, *Shāntiparva*, verses 25 and 28 and son of Bhā skara (same as Bhānu) in *Svargārohana Parva: sandhi* I, verse 92. In the colophon at the end of most of the cantos, the above poet calls himself '*Karnātaka-kavi-kula Sārvabhouma*'.

88. See the same Mahābhārata above, *Shāntiparva*, verses 26 and 27.

CHAPTER XX

ACHYUTA DEVA RĀYA: 1530[1]—1542[2] A.D.

The Fifth Adil Shāhi War—Achyuta's South Indian Expedition—The Rāichoor Expedition—The Kutub Shahi attack on Kondaveedu—Plots and intrigues in Vijayanagar Court—Vijayanagar during Achyuta's reign.

Achyuta, who was at Chandragiri at the time of his brother's death, hastened to Tirupati on receiving the news and got himself anointed there immediately after. Sāluva Nāika[3] was in charge of the administration at the capital till his arrival. Reaching Vijayanagar soon after, Achyuta had his coronation celebrated with all formalities. On this occasion his wife, Varadāmba, was declared as queen consort and his son Venkatādri as crown prince. Though power was thus secured by him, his claims were not favourably acknowledged by all parties. Rāma Rāya and his younger brother, Tirumala, had their own ambitions, as sons-in-law of Krishṇa Deva Rāya, the former having married a daughter of Tirumalā Devi and the latter a daughter of Chinnā Devi. Supported by the weight of these two dowager queens, they headed an opposition against Pedda Tirumala and Chinna Tirumala, the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta who had now come to occupy prominent positions at court. The result of all this was confusion in the affairs of the State.

The Fifth Adil Shāhi War: 1530[4]

Ismael Adil Shāh, the hereditary enemy of Vijayanagar, was not slow to take advantage of this. He had just then successfully concluded his war against Ameer Bareed by capturing his capital Bidar and by reducing him to the position of a vassal. While he was yet at the Bahamani capital celebrating festivities in this connection, news arrived from Vijayanagar that, at the attempt of Rāma Rāya to assume supreme powers, many subordinate chiefs had risen in rebellion against his authority. He, therefore, im-

mediately marched south accompanied by his (Adil Shāh) new vassal, Ameer Bareed, with the object of wresting Mudgal and Rāichoor. As Vijayanagar was not in a position to offer any serious resistance on account of her disturbed state of affairs, Rāichoor and Mudgal were surrendered to him after a defence of three months.[5] The Shāh who had taken a vow not to indulge in drink, until he had recovered these forts, now gave free vent to 'mirth and pleasure'.

After thus continuing the festivities for a month, he advanced upon Vijayanagar itself. Arriving at Nāgalāpur, its suburb with only 12,000 foot and 30,000 horse, he soon razed it to the ground. Although Achyuta had large forces at his command, he refused to give the enemy battle. Even the appeals of his officers who volunteered their services were of no avail, as the king decided to follow the advice of his brothers-in-law and make peace with the enemy. Peace was no doubt granted but not before Achyuta offered 10 lakhs of gold *pardoas*. The city of Rāichoor was also surrendered in return for a peace to last for 'a hundred years' which, in fact, was never fulfilled.

Achyuta's South Indian Expedition: 1532[6]-33

During the two years that followed, Achyuta appears to have had no trouble from outside,[7] on account of the renewal of war between Ismael and Ameer Bareed. The Kutub Shāh also was busy with his wars in Telingāna. Achyuta, therefore, chose this occasion to lead an expedition to south India. The main cause of this was the rebellion of Sellappa, the Vijayanagar viceroy over Chola country. Having attempted to dispossess a Pāndya chief of his heritage, Sellapa was opposed and defeated by him, and he had fled to Travancore seeking the protection of its king. With the latter's help he had made war again and driven the Pāndya from his ancestral territories. The Pāndya had fled to the court of Achyuta and appealed to him for justice. It was mainly in response to this appeal that Achyuta left his headquarters.

The first place of importance reached during this campaign was Chandragiri. Next, he visited the holy places of Tirupati, Kālahasti, Kānchi and Tiruvannāmalai in all of which he worshipped the Dieties and made large grants. On his arrival at Sreerangam, he fixed his camp there, sending forward his brother-

in-law Tirumala with the expeditionary force. Passing Madurai, Tirumala finally arrived on the banks of the Tāmraparni[8] where, in his turn, he established his quarters. From there he despatched a subordinate officer against the Travancore ruler. In a battle that was fought close to the mountains, the enemy being defeated, he came upon Sellappa, who surrendered himself praying for the king's forgiveness. After accepting his submission, Tirumala proceeded to Tiruvandrum. From there he reached Rāmeswaram where he halted and, after worship there, turned his steps towards Sreerangam to join the king. By Achyuta's orders, the Pāndya was restored to his ancestral possessions, and peace was thus established in the far south. This over, the Rāya hurried homewards by way of Srirangapatna, perhaps at the news of Ismael Adil Shāh's death in August 1534.

The Raichoor Expedition: C. 1534 A.D.[9]

The succession of Malloo Adil Shāh appears to have offered Achyuta an opportunity to recover possession of Raichoor which had been lost to Bijāpur in the late war. Disgusted with his sovereign's misgovernment, Assud Khān had just at that time resigned as minister at Bijāpur and gone back to Belgaum some time after August, 1534 A.D. Afraid of his sovereign's vengence, he sought the friendship of the Portuguese offering them the mainland near Goa.[10] After this, he opened communications with Achyuta also. Not unwilling to take advantage of this difference between master and servant, the Rāya invited Assud Khān to be his guest during Mahānavami festivals[11] at his capital. Assud accepted the invitation and arrived at Vijayanagar with a following of 13,000 men and 200 elephants. To please his guest and win him over to his side, the king of Vijayanagara presented him with the towns Tungi[12] and Turgul.[13] After thus securing his goodwill and promise of co-operation, Achyuta marched with his army to recover Rāichoor. When the Adil Shāh heard of this alliance and the siege of this coveted fortress by their combined forces, he was greatly alarmed and hurried to give battle. In the beginning every thing appeared to have gone well with Achyuta. Rāichoor was retaken and the Adil Shāh was even chased to the banks of the Krishṇā. But the fruits of victory were in the end snatched away by the duplicity of his ally. After the exchange of constant messages between the Khān and the Shāh, the latter, all on a

sudden, deserted the Rāya's army to join that of Bijāpur. Though this incident added much to the hopes of the Adil Shāh, yet not believing in the sincerity of Assud, he showed as much earnestness as the Rāya to bring the war to a close. Peace was thus patched up between the two kings by virtue of which Mudgal was offered to the Rāya in return for Adil retaining Raichoor.

The Kutub Shāh's attack on Kondaveedu: (?) 1536 A.D.

This partial success brought no appreciable peace to the Empire. Though the Adil Shāh was silenced for the time, the king of Golkonda could not be kept away from mischief. After freeing himself from his late war with Ismael Adil Shāh, Kuli had again started on his career of conquests in Telingāna. Marching on Harischandra of Nalgonda, he had just about this time captured Nalgonda by treachery and put the chief to death. He next brought forward an excuse that the Vijayanagar officer at Kondaveedu had neglected to pay 'the tribute' which was imposed on him in 1530 A.D. Thus he attacked the place, and after a brave defence for a time, Kondaveedu fell.[14] Kutub built a tower in the middle of the fort in memory of this event and returned to his capital.

Plots and Intrigues in the Vijayanagar Court

Achyuta appears to have passed the last 6 years[15] of his reign without the interference of his Mussalmān neighbours. Kuli Kutub Shāh spent the year 1535 A.D.[16] in a war with Kāseem Bareed in his attempt to wrest Koheer from the latter. As a counter measure, Ibrāhim Adil Shāh carried his attacks into Kutub's territories. In the early half of the next year the Adil Shāh was engaged in directing Assud Khān's attacks against the Portuguese at Goa.[17] Much of the year 1537 A.D.[18] was spent by him in his efforts to save his kingdom from the invasion of the Nizām Shāh from the north and Kutub Shāh from the east.[19] With all this, Achyuta found no relief nor his people any peace. The rival factions in his court grew worse in their conduct towards each other every year. Rāma Rāya was the last to forgive those who had opposed his claims to the throne. In the course of 5 or 6 years, he got rid of almost all of them by treachery[20] and succeeded in placing his own men in positions of importance.

The Tirumala brothers, on the other hand, taxed the people without pity and extorted large sums of money, even from the officers of the government. By their evil advice many unjust executions of important persons had also been carried out. Dominated as he was by their influence, Achyuta could do nothing to prevent the growing discontent of his people. Nor could he maintain among his neighbours the former dignity of his government. The Adil Shāh held him of no consequence, heaping indignities on him, whenever and however he chose. Thus did Achyuta's reign drag on till a crisis was reached by his death in 1542 A.D.

Vijayanagar during Achyuta's Reign

Fernao Nuniz who visited Vijayanagar during Achyuta's reign writes thus*—'All the service of this [Achyuta's] house, with the things which they make use of, is of silver and gold, that is to say, basins and bowls, stools, livers and other vessels of that sort. The bedsteads [cots] in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the king is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. . .He has five hundred wives and as many less or more as he wants, with whom he sleeps, and all of these burn themselves at his death. . . In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants numbering fully five or six hundred, and these wives of the king all have their own officials for their service, each for herself just as the king has within the gates, but these all are women. . . In the kitchen there are some two hundred inferior guards; and four over it, and two chief officers of the guard. . .and this king that now is [Achyuta Rāya] has in his stable seven hundred and odd horses and four hundred elephants. He spends on account of them and for their attendants, to whom he gives food, two thousand gold *paradoas* per day. And of the horsemen, whom the king pays, he has six thousand, and all of them are on the stable's establishment, and those who serve them are paid each year, some a thousand *paradoas*, some five hundred and those who have less pay receive not less than a hundred. Of these six thousand two hundred are obliged to ride with the king. The kings of this country[21] are able to assemble

* Nuniz's account is reproduced in R. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, Ch. XXII (Ed.)

as many soldiers as they want, as they have them in their kingdom and have much wealth wherewith to pay them. This king Chitaras has foot soldiers paid by his nobles, and they are obliged to maintain six lakhs of soldiers, that is, six hundred thousand men and twenty four thousand horse which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like renters who hold all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of rents as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a *hundred and twenty lakhs* of which they must pay sixty to the king and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. Of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue [per] year, he does not enjoy a large (r) sum than twenty lakhs, for, the rest is spent on his horses and elephants and foot soldiers and cavalry whose cost he defrays...

'The markets [of the city] are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack fruit and mangoes, and all very cheap. It is said that in the markets they give twelve live sheep for a *paradoas*, and in the hills they give fourteen or fifteen for a *paradoas*. . .A thousand dancing women are said to dance before the king during the *Mahānavami* festival... The king has a thousand wrestlers for the feasts [*Mahānavami*], who wrestle before the king. . .The king always gives large sums in charity; in the palace there are always two or three thousand Brahmans, who are his priests and to whom the king commands to give alms... The king has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers, amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belong to the palace guard; to which six thousand belong the two hundred who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield bearers and three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables; he has sixteen hundred grooms who attend to the horses and has also three hundred horse-trainers and two thousand artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons and carpenters and washermen who wash clothes. These are the people he has, and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace. To the six thousand horsemen, the king gives horses free and gives provision for them every month and all these horses are marked with the king's mark ... The king every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and countrybreds, of which he chooses the best for his own

stables, and he gives the rest to his captains and gains much of them... This king has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace; some are dancing girls and others are bearers who carry the king's wives on their shoulders and the king also in the interior of the palace; for, the king's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the king are well versed in music. . .Selected women and eunuchs serve him his food, in vessels of gold, in which are basins of gold for smaller messes, Some of these basins are adorned with precious stones... The king never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off, he at once delivers it to certain officers who are in charge of this duty, and they render an account, and these garments are never given to any one'.

NOTES

1. Pāvagada 67: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 214 at Erammanahalli.

2. Mālur 32 of *Saka* 1564 *Subhakrit*, *Āshādha* about July 1542: (*E.C.* Vol. X, page 196 at Tekal) is the last date so far associated with Achyuta.

3. Inscriptions as early as 1528 A.D. (*Śaka* 1450, Siddlaghatta 15: *Sarvadhāri Bhādrapada*, *E.C.* Vol. X. page 220 at Hospet) record Achyuta as the reigning sovereign. See Sorab 39: *E.C.* Vol. VIII, pages 17-18 at Ankavalli Gubbi 32: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 42 at Sampige, Sewell: *Lists Op. Cit.* Vol. I, page 182, p. 322, one as early as Vyaya 1527 at Ayyaluru, addresses Achyuta with imperial titles, and records that he was reigning at that time (Tirumakudlu Narasipur 80: *E.C.* Vol. III, page, 163 at Mugur). One inscription close to the Hanumān temple in the Vijayanagar (Hampi) ruins (Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, p. 107, at Hampi No. 15), records a personal grant by Achyuta in *Saka* 1448, i.e., A.D. 1526. As Krishṇa's inscriptions also are found during the period 1526-30, the indication is that the brothers ruled jointly, Achyuta informally and Krishṇa both in form and in fact. Sorab 39 of 1529 A.D. *E.C.* Vol. VIII, page 17-18 at Ankavalli records in a grant by a private individual that a 'permanent Empire might happen to Achyuta'. This suggests that Achyuta was in temporary charge of the Empire earlier, perhaps in 1526 A.D. and possibly in 1524 A.D. soon after the death of prince Tirumala.

4. Though Ferista does not give a separate date for this invasion of Vijayanagar territory by Ismael Adil Shāh, it is clear from the context that it took place in 1530 A.D. as it happened after the Gujarāt invasion of 1529 A.D.

and before the second conflict between Adil Shāh and Ameer Bareed in 1531 A.D. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 66.

5. *Ibid.* A statement by Ferista that these two forts were taken from the Hindus after having been in their possession 'for 17 years' suggests the year of its first capture by Vijayanagar as 1512-13 during Krishṇa's reign (*Supra* the III Adil Shāhi war) and the date for the present invasion during Achyuta's reign '17 year' after i.e., 1529-20.

6. See inscription in Arula Perumāl temple in Conjeevaram (Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, No. 115, Vol. I, p. 182) which record Achyuta's conquest as having reached the Tāmraparni; also see Kāmākshi temple inscriptions of *Saka* 1455: 1533 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 181) Conjeevaram No. 86.

7. Loss of Kondalur 1533 A.D.

8. See Arula Perumāl temple inscription, Conjeevaram in Sewell: *Lists Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187, No. 262, p. 181, No. 86.

9. This date is suggested for the following reasons:

(*i*) It must have been in the reign of Malloo Adil Shāh which lasted for six months beginning from September 6, 1534 A.D. (Briggs. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 71) or August 27, 1534 A.D. (Kutub Shāhi History in *Ibid.*, p. 371), the dates of Ismael Adil Shāh's death and must have ended about the close of February 1535 A.D.

(*ii*) As Asud Khān's displeasure with Malloo is said to have begun soon after the return of the Adil Shāhi army from Kovil Konda expedition to Bijāpur, it must be about the end of September or the beginning of October 1534 A.D.

(*iii*) Achyuta Rāya's invitation to Asud Khān during Mahānavami festivals at Vijayanagar must have been in September/October when only the festival generally comes off.

(*iv*) Tiptur 1: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 67 at Turuvekere, says that Achyuta was still at Vijayanagar in *Nandana*, *Māgha* i.e., about January 1532 A.D., Arula Perumal temple inscription (Sewell: *Lists, Op. Cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 182, No. 115) of *Sāka* 1454-1532-3 A.D. records Achyuta's south Indian conquests. The Kāmākshi temple inscription of *Saka* 1455 (*Ibid.*, page 181 No. 86) notes Achyuta's presence then at Kānchi. The next earliest reference to Achyuta's presence at Vijayanagar is in *Vijaya Kārtika* (Holalkere 132: *E.C.* Vol. XI, page 285 at Malali and Pāvagada 75: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 218 at Potaganahalli) when he must have returned home from his conquests, and this would be about the close of 1533 A.D. It must be only after this event that the Adil Shāhi war should have taken place. As Malloo came to the throne only in 1534 A.D. it must be after the Mahānavami of 1534 A.D. that the war should have happened.

10. Though no particular date is given by the Portuguese writers for these transactions, (Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 413), yet from the date 1536 A.D. given for the incidents related in Danvers' next para (*Ibid.*, p. 414), we have to infer that this incident could have happened only when Assud Khān

was displeased with his sovereign who must be without doubt Malloo. (September 6th 1534 A.D. to February 1535). As on p. 414, *Ibid.*, we learn that Assud was reconciled to his sovereign by February 1536 A.D. and even sent on an expedition according to his orders against the Portuguese, it must be because Malico was dead and his brother Ibrahim Adil Shāh, perhaps Assud's nominee, was king. By this, it is clear that the war between Achyuta and Bijāpur, so much detailed by Nuniz, must have happened previous to February 1536 A.D. and subsequent to September 1534 A.D. when a displaced king was on the Bijāpur throne i.e., Malloo. The Mahānavami during which Assud is said to have visited Vijayanagar must have been the Mahānavami of 1535 A.D. But as Malloo was not living during the Mahānavami of 1535 (October) and as Ibrahim succeeded him in about February 1535 A.D., it must be the Mahānavami of 1534 A.D. only.

11. For reasons discussed in the previous para this must be the Mahānavami of 1534 A.D. Nuniz gives no date for this.

12. Not yet identified.

13. This must be the present Torgal of Belgaum. Sewell's Tirukkojilur is out of place here.

14. History of Golkonda in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 374.

15. But according to Ferista this was a period of domestic intrigues by Rāma Rāya's party (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 80-84).

16. History of Golkonda, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 372. The date is only circumstantial.

17. Danvers, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 414.

18. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 229.

19. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 375-76.

20. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81.

21. Bisnaga or Vijayanagar.

CHAPTER XXI

VENKATA DEVA RĀYA I[1]* (1542-1543 A.D.)

September (?) *1542*[2] —*January* (?) *1543*[3]

The Tables Turned against Rāma Rāya—The Mad Acts of Tirumala—The Triumph of Rāma Rāya.

The succession of Venkata, son of Achyuta, did not pass without being seriously disputed. He had been left by his father in charge of his uncle[4], perhaps Ranga.[5] Instead of justifying the trust which his brother had placed in him, this person proceeded to imprison his young nephew in a fortress and then lay his claims to the throne.[6] Some of the nobles including Rāma Rāya and his brothers appear to have supported his pretensions. The Tirumala brothers, on the other hand, stood by the rights of the young prince who was their sister's son,[7] and a large number of nobles were on their side. The latter insisted that Venkata should be set free and that two ministers be appointed to carry on the administration during his minority. Achyuta's brother would not agree to this as he feared that he would lose all power.

At this injustice many nobles returned to their estates in despair of good government, and began to assume independence each in his own province. Varadāmbā, the queen mother,[8] growing anxious about the fate of her son, begged the Adil Shāh to come to her aid promising him in return immense riches.[9] Ostensibly to restore Venkata to his throne, but really to acquire the kingdom for himself, Ibrahim set out from Bijāpur with his army, and encamped at a distance of about 2 miles[10] from Vijayanagar. Grasping the critical nature of the situation, a good number of the nobles changed their attitude towards Achyuta's brother and placing him on the throne, prepared to drive their hereditary foe. Rāma Rāya and his lieutenant, Hande Hanumappa Naiku of Ananthapura, appear to have taken a prominent part in defeating

* Compare V. Srinivasan 'Disputed Succession after Achyuta Rāya' *Q.J.M.S.* LXIII, 1972 (1-4) pp. 25-35. (Ed.)

the Adil Shāh on this occasion. There is reason to suppose that a huge offer of money[11] by Achyuta's brother also contributed much towards the retreat of the king of Bijāpur.

The Tables Turned against Rāma Rāya[12]

Soon after, Rāma Rāya left Vijayanagar at the head of a force to put down a revolt of the chiefs in Malabār. Before leaving the headquarters he appointed an agent[13] with instruction to guard the treasury and watch the imprisoned prince till he came back. After successfully completing his Malabār expedition, Rāma Rāya turned to reduce the fortress of a rebel chief, south of the capital.[14] Though he spent six months[15] he was not successful in producing any impression on him. Having run short of supplies, he wrote to his agent at Vijayanagar to send him the necessary funds to continue the siege. On opening the vaults of the treasury, the agent became so tempted by the amount of wealth he saw that he tried to rebel and seize all powers to himself.[16] To this end he made overtures to the brothers Tirumala who readily joined in the plot, and the army was won over by a lavish distribution of gold. The imprisoned prince also was released. Many nobles, discontented with Rāma's administration, hastened towards the capital to join their lawful king. Thus, in a short time, 30,000 horse and vast hosts of foot were assembled under the standard of Venkata. These developments at home reaching the ears of Rāma Rāya, he immediately patched up a peace with his enemy and marched in all haste towards Vijayanagar.

The Mad Acts of Tirumala

Alarmed at Rāma's approach, the elder Tirumala, fearing that the agent might repent for his revolt and betray him to Rāma, put his benefactor to death and seized the government. Further, he sent ambassadors to the Adil Shāh with a sum of six lakhs of *hoons* and many valuable presents soliciting his help for the second time.[17] He also promised 3 lakhs of *hoons* for every day's march of Adil's army and even offered to make the Empire itself tributory to him.[18] Highly pleased with this tempting offer, Ibrahim once again[19] marched towards Vijayanagar. Tirumala received him with the greatest joy and seating him on the royal throne made rejoicings for seven days.[20] Rāma Rāya, in his turn, found to his

cost, that many of his officers were in sympathy with Venkata's restoration. He, therefore, held back from any exhibition of force for the time, employing only diplomacy to achieve his object. He sent letters to Tirumala expressing his repentance, and undertook to be loyal in the future, if only the king of Bijāpur could be induced to retire.[21] He further represented the evil consequences of introducing the Mussalmāns into their country by which, besides their kingdom passing into the hands of the enemy, their temples and idols would be defiled and their children carried into captivity. Tirumala appears to have appreciated this reasoning and being satisfied by Rāma's offer of allegiance, paid down the promised subsidy of 50 lakhs of *hoons* besides large presents to the Adil Shāh, upon which the latter retired homewards.

Rāma Rāya, in his turn, proceeded to his estate to bide his time for more favourable circumstances. Scarcely had the threatening clouds passed, when Tirumala started on his mad career once again. Ambitious of securing the throne for himself he got Venkata, his own nephew and sovereign, strangled,[22] and, next, he had his two uncles and a nephew of Achyuta murdered.[23] Then, in fear of the chief nobles, he summoned them to the court and put out the eyes of those who arrived first. Unable to bear all this, the rest returned to their homes and opened communications with Rāma Rāya and Ibrahim[24] to march to their support, in putting an end to the tyrant's rule.

The Triumph of Rāma Rāya

Rāma Rāya, who, in this interval, was gathering his troops[25] from Gutti, Adoni, Kurnool, Penukonda, Gadwāl and Gandikota, at once marched upon Vijayanagar, resolving to wreak vengence on Tirumala for the murder of the king. At the news of his approach, one of the Tirumala brothers, possibly the younger, marched out two leagues[26] from the capital and drew up to oppose Rāma. On the latter's advance to give battle, Tirumala's army, finding his cause unworthy, went over to his opponent. Tirumala was taken prisoner and executed. At this news, the queens of Krishṇa Deva Rāya, who were then at the capital, ordered the gates of the city to be thrown open and Rāma welcomed.[27] The other Tirumala, finding that every thing was lost, shut himself up in the palace[28] and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the

royal elephants and horses and cut off their tails that they might be of no use to his enemy. He got crushed to powder the diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other precious stones and pearls which had been collected in the course of many ages, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword blade into a pillar of his apartment and fell on it, thus putting an end to his existence even as the enemy was entering the gates of the palace. Thus did Rāma Rāya enter Vijayanagar in triumph and once again assume the administration. By the consent of all parties, Sadāśiva, son of Achyuta's brother, Ranga, was accepted as the immediate claimant and raised to the throne of Vijayanagar.

NOTES

1. Nāgamangala 58 of Sadāśiva's reign dated 1545 A.D. *E.C.* Vol. IV, part II, page 219-222 at Honnenahaḷḷi which, while tracing his genealogy, says in passing that, after Achyuta, his son Venkata ruled for a short time and then died. Also Channapatna 186 (1558 A.D.) *E.C.* Vol. IX, page 212 at Malur.

2. Malur 62: *E.C.* Vol. X, page 204 Mukkadagutte.

3. Siddalghatta 52: *E.C.* Vol. X, page 226 at Malur.

4. This is according to the Portuguese writer Correa (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV).

5. Correa does not mention the name. It may be Venkata's maternal uncle or the paternal one. As the uncle according to Correa was 'the brother of the dead king' the inference is that it may be Ranga who, according to Nuniz's account, (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*), was the brother of Krishṇa Deva Rāya and, therefore, also of Achyuta. There is nothing definite to show that Ranga lived in 1542 A.D. except the inference as above. It cannot, anyway, be Achyuta who was dead by then.

6. This again is based on the interpretation of Correa's reference to 'uncle'.

7. That Venkata was Achyuta's son and thus his immediate successor in the main line is clear. We do not know why Ferista calls him 'an infant boy of female line'. See Adil Shāhi Narrative in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, III, p. 81.

8. This is according to Correa (*Indian Antiquary, Op. Cit.*,) but he mentions no name. If the prince be Venkata as suggested above, then we know from Hindu sources (Arul Perumāl temple inscription, Kānchi, Sewell: *Lists, Op. cit.*, Vol. I, page 182, No. 115) that her name was Vāradāmbā.

9. See Correa's account, *Op. Cit.*

10. See *History of Hande Ananthapura* translated by C. P. Brown in the *Wars of the Rājas* (S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources, Op. Cit.*, page 178).

11. Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, III, p. 86. It seems better to connect this account of Rāma's battle with the Venkatādri affair of 1542 A.D.

12. See Appendix B for a fuller discussion of the events noticed here in this para.

13. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81. This agent must be the Gale Timma of *Hande History, Op. Cit.*, p. 4. and Bhandāram Timmayya of the

inscriptions, Pāvagada 65: *E.C.* Vol. XII, page 383 at Darasammārahaḷḷi and Channapatna 155: *E.C.* Vol. I, page 206 at Chakkere.

14. The place and name of the rebel yet remain to be identified.
15. Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 81.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See Correa's account, *Op. Cit.*
18. Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*. Vol. VIII, p. 83.
19. Correa's account, *Op. Cit.*
20. Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 843.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 83. Correa says he was assasinated. See his account in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV.
23. Correa's account, *Op. Cit.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Hande History*, *Op. Cit.* p. 4.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
28. Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 84.

CHAPTER XXII

VIRA SADĀŚIVA RĀYA: 1543-1568 A.D.[1]

Rāma rolls back the Adil Shāhi invasion—The Troubles of Bijāpur—The Sixth Adil Shāhi War—The Second Half of 1544 A.D.—Rāma offers protection to Ibrahim Kutub Shāh—The Battle of Hoorchean—The Seventh Adil Shāhi War—Third Pact with the Portuguese—Prince Abdulla's rebellion—The Secret Treaty of 1549 A.D.—The Eighth Adil Shāhi War—The League against Bareed—The Ninth Adil Shāhi War—Rāma Rāya helps Ibrahim Kutub to regain his throne—The Siege of Bijāpur—Humiliation of Bijāpur—Rāma saves the Adil Shāh from a Catastrophe—The Goa Expedition—First Nizām Shāhi War—The Rebellion of Rāma's brothers—The Alliance with Bijāpur—The Second Nizām Shāhi War—The Humiliation of Hussain Nizām Shāh—Rāma's South Indian expedition—The Portuguese havoc—The Third Nizām Shāhi War—The Fourth Kutub Shāhi War—The Shāhi League—The Eve of War—The Battle of Rakkasagi-Thangadagi (Tālikote)—The Sack of Vijayanagar—The Loss of Territory—The Retreat of the Allies—Adil Shāhi Invasion—Tirumala consolidates his Power—The Murder of Sadāśiva.

Sadāśiva, the new king, was but 'a child in arms'[2] when he came to the throne. It was only natural, therefore, that the burden of administration should fall upon Rāma Rāya, his protector. All attempts of Rāma to become king himself, being so far frustrated for want of proper support from the nobles, he remained, during the rest of his days, contented with the powers of kingship but without its formalities. Sadāśiva continued to be called the Emperor, while Rāma styled himself as his regent or 'Agent for affairs'. As the best general of the Empire and the saviour of the dynasty, he was obeyed by many. As the son-in-law of Krishṇa[3] and the brother-in-law of Sadāśiva,[4] he was respected by all. Becoming king *de facto* in this manner, he raised Tirumala, his younger brother, to be minister and Venkatādri, another brother, as generalissimo of the Vijayanagar forces. By this arrangement,

though all power really passed into the hands of the brothers, neither the Empire nor its people suffered in any way by the change. On the other hand, by their united will, courage and experience, it was saved from an almost certain disaster and raised once again into a position of importance as in the days of Krishṇa.

Rāma rolls back the Adil Shāhi Invasion[5]*: 1542 A.D.*

It was noticed in the last chapter that, in response to the invitation of the nobles to put down the tyranny of Hutcha Tirumala, Adil Shāh had again set out to interfere in the affairs of Vijayanagar. As Rāma Rāya achieved the object earlier, Adil derived no advantage by the change of rulers. The news of Rāma's triumph reached him at Rāichoor where he was encamped at that time, and he immediately despatched Assud Khān with the bulk of his army to take Ādoni. Rāma Rāya sent a force under his brother, Venkatādri to beat back the invasion. At its approach Assud raised the siege and turned to meet the enemy. A sharp engagement followed and finding that he could not contend against the large numbers opposed to him, Assud retreated about 20 miles where he pitched his tents. Venkatādri followed him and encamped at some distance from the enemy. But he failing to take the necessary precautions for the safety of his army, the Khān one night suddenly attacked with 4,000 chosen horse driving home his attack with surprising success. His troops being thrown into a panic as a result of this, Venkatādri fled from his camp leaving behind him his family and treasures in the hands of the enemy. At daybreak, he succeeded in rallying his forces; but afraid of the fate of battle and its consequences to his wife and children, declined to give battle and retired some miles off. Fixing his camp there once again, he wrote to his brother at Vijayanagar a report of his misfortunes, appealing at the same time for reinforcements. Rāma immediately sent him supplies of men and money, outwardly instructing him to carry on the war but privately advising him to patch up a peace with the enemy and get his family released, as he suspected the loyalty of the Hindu chiefs around Ādoni, without whose invitation, he said, Ibrāhim could not have ventured to send his troops so far. An offer of a vast sum of money, jewels, gold and silver plate[6] won over Assud, at

whose intercession with his master, a peace satisfactory to both parties was concluded, and all prisoners were exchanged and the parties retired to their homes.

The Troubles of Bijāpur 1542[7]

This happy close of the war, however unstable and unsatisfactory, gave Vijayanagar a chance to breathe after the late revolution, and time enough for its helmsman, Rāma Rāya, to settle down in his saddle. Ibrahim Adil Shāh raised Assud Khān, in appreciation of his services to him, to the post of prime minister and commander-in-chief. This roused jealousy among Assud's rivals, who, by slander and misrepresentation, brought about in a short time dissension between the sovereign and his distinguished subject, and Adil Shāh had even consented to his minister's capture and imprisonment.[8] Burhan Nizām Shāh, Bijāpur's hereditary enemy, took advantage of the situation to ally himself with Ameer Bareed, and after capturing Sholāpur[9] and the neighbouring districts, marched on Belgaum spreading desolation wherever he went.

Although, according to Ferista, Assud had no hand in the turn of events,[10] yet being suspected and deserted[11] by his sovereign, he was compelled, by the sheer force of circumstances, to throw in his lot with the invaders, in order to save his estates from plunder and devastation. Their strength thus augmented, the allies made bold even to march on Bijāpur and lay siege to it. So great was the terror created by this invasion that the Adil Shāh, finding it hard to give them battle, deserted his capital and escaped with his family to Gulburga for safety. Total ruin stared him in the face in this crisis. However, the timely intervention of Allauddin Imad Shāh of Berār brought about by Assud's diplomacy changed the situation. Encouraged by Assud's loyalty and strengthened by Imad's reinforcements, Ibrāhim sallied out to give battle to his enemies, who were hurrying from Bijāpur to prevent a junction of the Berar forces with those of Bijāpur.

Disheartened by the desertions of Assud Khān and Ein-ul-moolk,[12] Burhan and his ally, convinced that victory was lost, hastily retreated towards Ahmadnagar. The Bijāpur and Berār

troops chased their fleeing foes with such vindictiveness that Burhan Nizām Shāh, unable to make a stand anywhere, was forced to quit even Ahmadnagar and take refuge in the distant fortress of Daulatābād.[13] It was now the turn of the erstwhile victims to become victors. The enemy's capital was besieged and his country thoroughly laid waste. At this juncture,[14] Ameer Bareed died suddenly at Daulatābād and the Nizām Shāh had no alternative but to sue for peace. Peace was at last purchased by the surrender of the 5 districts of Sholāpur to Ibrahim Adil Shāh. It is no wonder that Vijayanagar, having neither any part nor lot in this war, looked on with satisfaction at the wolves tearing each other. It would have been much to her interest, perhaps, if Bijāpur had been crippled but it was otherwise.

The Sixth Adil Shāhi War: 1543[15]—?1544 A.D.[16]

Scarcely a year had passed since the see-saw struggle between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, when the whole of the Deccan was again ablaze with a more terrible war into which Vijayanagar was also dragged. The peace of 1542 A.D. was, at best, an armistice; for, it had neither secured Vijayanagar immunity from the attack of Bijāpur, nor Bijāpur itself from that of Ahmadnagar. It was clear to Rāma Rāya that the ambitions of Ibrahim Adil Shāh would lead to fresh troubles whenever it suited him. Burhan, on the other hand, though humiliated for the time, was cherishing vengeance all the while. He was jealous of the military reputation of the king of Bijāpur. The loss of the Sholāpur districts still rankled in his bosom.

In this state of affairs, the death of Kuli Kutub in September 1543 acted like a spark to the political haystack. Jamsheed, the new king of Golkonda, attempted to seize his brother Ibrahim, who was then at Devarkonda, but the latter fled to Bidar seeking the help of its ruler. The ambitious Kāsim Bareed readily took up his cause and marched on Golkonda accompanied by the exiled prince. This was enough for the king of Ahmadnagar. Afraid of Kāsim's spirit of aggrandisement, he marched towards Golkonda to the relief of Jamsheed, taking on the way Koheer[17] belonging to Bareed. Finding Burhan march in support of Jamsheed, Kāsim retreated in the direction of Bijāpur. At the shelter given to him, Burhan roused the Deccan powers in a com-

mon cause against the Adil Shāh. Rāma Rāya, who had old scores to pay off, was the last to let go such a golden opportunity to humble Ibrahim Adil Shāh. A secret alliance was formed between Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Vijayanagar. Even Allaudin Imad Shāh of Berār, Ibrahim's own father-in-law, with whom he had fallen out a short time ago, was drawn into this and induced to take up arms. The plan of action was that Vijayanagar should invade the Bijāpur territory from the south, Golkonda from the east, while Burhan and his allies, Ally Bareed and Allaudin Imad, should attack the districts to the north-east.

In accordance with this understanding Burhan laid waste many districts and on several occasions defeated the Bijāpur troops sent against him,[18] and marched to reduce Sholāpur.[19] On the east, Jamsheed seized the district of Kakny and occupying the whole country to the walls of Gulburga, and laid siege to Etgeer.[20] Rāma Rāya too was not slow to act. Soon the Vijayanagar forces were on the march under Venkatādri to reduce Rāichoor[21] and seize the Doāb. Thus was the king of Bijāpur enveloped by a ring of fire, which at this time threatened him with certain destruction. Ibrāhim Adil and his ally, Kasim Bareed, unable to cope with the three confederate armies decided to create a diversion, moved towards Purenda[22] on the Nizam Shāhi frontier and laid siege to it. This move succeeded, as their northern enemies were forced to march to the relief of Purenda and thus drawn off from Sholāpur. But in trying to dispute their progress at Khāspur,[23] Ibrahim and his ally were defeated and driven off the field. The king of Bijāpur was forced to abandon all his heavy baggage and camp equipage, while Kāsim, fleeing towards Bidar, was pursued to its very gates by his particular enemy, Jamsheed. This was indeed a situation of the gravest magnitude to Bijāpur. If the allies had only held together a little longer, there was nothing to prevent them from giving a *coup-de-grace* to Ibrāhim and divide his territories among themselves.

But Jamsheed's pusilanimity or selfishness or treachery, whatever it was, spoiled the whole situation. This king, instead of continuing the campaign, abandoned the confederacy[24] and returned directly to Golkonda,[25] after enriching himself by plundering Kāsim. Ibrāhim, on the other hand, being alarmed at the turn of events and much perplexed as to his future course of action, had sent for his minister, Assud Khān, from Belgaum seeking his

advice. According to his counsel, the Adil Shāh thought it best to create a division of interest among his enemies and deal with each of them separately. Knowing that Nizam Shāh was his worst foe, he decided to silence him by offering him the Sholāpur districts as the price of peace. Having got what he fought for, Burhan agreed to suspend hostilities, especially as the rains were approaching.[26] Rāma Rāya also was offered presents[27] with the same object in view. Deserted by one ally and disappointed with another he was left no alternative but to accept what was offered and to call off the Rāichoor expedition,[28] the more so as the internal affairs of the Empire were unsatisfactory on account of many subordinate chiefs being still in rebellion. Although Vijayanagar did not gain much by this untimely peace, she lost less in so far as the war fever continued with Bijāpur keeping her and her ally Bidar busy with Golkonda during the rest of the year.

The Sixth Adil Shāhi War—Another Account

After a peace of nearly a year during which the kings of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar were busy in fighting between themselves,[29] Rāma was again drawn into a war with the Adil Shāh. Consequent upon the death of Kuli Kutub Shāh in September 1543 A.D. and the succession of his son, Jamsheed, a quarrel between Kāsim Bareed and the king of Golkonda complicated the politics of the Deccan, involving gradually all the neighbouring kingdoms. Immediately after ascending the throne of Golkonda, Jamsheed sent orders to seize his younger brother, Ibrāhim, who was at that time in charge of Devarkonda. But warned before hand, Ibrāhim escaped to Bidar and sought Kāsim Bareed's protection. In support of his claims, Ibrāhim marched on Golkonda. At this, Jamsheed appealed to Burhan Nizam Shāh for assistance.

Accordingly, Burhan, jealous of the growing power of Kāsim, declared war on him and followed him from behind. Unable to cope with the combined forces of Burhan and Jamsheed, Kāsim retired in the direction of Bijāpur. The offer of shelter to Kāsim led Burhan to declare war on Bijāpur also, outwardly to punish the Adil Shāh for harbouring his enemy but really to recover the five districts of Sholāpur which he had been compelled to cede to him as a result of the war of 1542 A.D. A secret alliance between himself, Jamsheed and Rāma Rāya[30] was formed. Differences

between Allauddin Imad Shāh and his son-in-law, Ibrāhim, were also utilised to induce him to enter into this alliance. According to this arrangement Burhan, Jamsheed and Allāudin were to advance on Sholāpur to reduce it, and Rāma Rāya was to invade the Doāb[31] tracts from the south.

The Adil Shāh accompanied by Kāsim marched first on Purenda and to the Nizam Shāhi frontier to divert the attention of the allies from the siege of Sholāpur. At this Burhan and his allies marched to meet him. In a battle fought at the village of Khāspur, Ibrahim Adil Shāh was beaten and forced to retire leaving behind his stores, baggage etc. Jamsheed chased Kāsim Bareed to the gates of his capital, Bidar, and returned to Golkonda with much plunder. About the same time, he attacked the eastern districts of Bijāpur, and seizing Kakney, occupied the Adil Shāhi territory to the very walls of Gulburga, and laid siege to Yādagiri also.

Taking advantage of this predicament of Bijāpur, the Vijayanagar forces under Venkatādri proceeded to reduce Rāichoor. Thus attacked on three sides, Ibrāhim sent for Assud Khān from Belgaum and on his advice made peace, for the time being, with the Nizām Shāh by offering him the five districts of Sholāpur. To Rāma Rāyā he sent presents in order to secure his friendship. As the internal conditions of Vijayanagar were yet unsettled on account of many vassals still in revolt, Rāma appears to have called off the Rāichoor expedition.

The Second Half of 1544 A.D.[32]

The peace between Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar did not also mean peace between Bijāpur and Bidar. After securing the neutrality of two of his enemies the Adil Shāh sent Assud Khān to march on Jamsheed and punish him for his audacity. Accordingly, the Khān advanced and after a month's siege,[33] recovered Kakney. He next proceeded against Yādagiri forcing the Kutub Shāhi troops to raise the siege and retreat. Assud followed the Kutub Shāhi to the walls of Golkonda where a battle was fought, and Assud defeated Kutub in a personal combat and was even disfigured for life.[34] Satisfied with this much of punishment, the Bijāpur general returned home in triumph.

Almost simultaneously,[35] Kāsim Bareed renewed his attacks upon Jamsheed and marched to Chilkoor, 8 miles from Golkonda.

To save his capital and draw Bareed aside Jamsheed advanced towards Bidar an far as Kumtana. Thus outwitted, Bareed hurried to the relief of his own capital. The two kings met at Puttuncheroo, and in the end agreed to withdraw to their capitals. Thus was the war of 1543-4 A.D. ended, benefiting Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar and humiliating Golkonda.

*Rāma offers protection to Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh C. 1544 A.D.**

It was stated above that Ibrāhim Kutub fled from Devarkonda in fear of his brother Jamsheed's persecution and sought shelter with Kāsim Bareed. But Kāsim unable to fight single-handed both Jamsheed and Burhan who had now united their forces against him for giving shelter to Ibrāhim, retired with him to Bijāpur. On the way, he took advantage of his guest's helpless condition and attempted to seize his elephants and private property. Ibrāhim fled to Vijayanagar seeking Rāma Rāyā's protection. Rāma received him kindly and taking him into his service, made provisions for his livelihood by granting him an estate. Thus he remained for seven years at Vijayanagar till his brother's death called him to Golkonda in 1550 A.D.

The Battle of Hoorchean:[36] 1546 A.D.

Every effort of Rāma Rāya, so far, having failed to bring Biāpur to her knees, he took yet another opportunity to set Ahmadnagar against Bijāpur. He instigated[37] Burhan Nizām Shāh, in the year 1546 A.D.[38], to move again to reduce Gulburga. At this news, Ibrāhim Adil Shāh marched from Bijāpur to oppose him. Upon his arrival near the town of Hoorchean, Ibrāhim found Burhan strongly posted on the eastern bank of the Bhimā river, and finding it impossible to cross at that spot, the Adil Shāh encamped on the opposite bank. Rains commencing very soon, both the armies lay inactive for three months, in sight of each other and with the river between them. At length, Ibrāhim, tired of waiting, effected a crossing, and a general action ensued in which the Nizām Shāhi army was defeated with heavy losses. He fled from the

* Compare for conditions in the neighbouring Telangāna area in 1543-1550: H. K. Shervani: 'The Medieval Telangāna; A Period of Uncertainty' 1543-1550.' (*JIH*, XXXV, 1957. (1) pp. 37-71). Also H. K. Shervani: 'Sultan Quli Qutub-ul-Mulk, the first ruler of medieval Telangāna, 16th century' (*JIH*, XXXIV (1) 1956). (Ed).

field leaving behind 250 elephants, 170 pieces of cannon, besides ammunition, wagons and all the royal insignia and camp equipage. In his plight, the king of Ahmadnagar appealed to his ally Bareed[39] for help. But the latter refused assistance, and Burhan sued for peace which, however, was treated contemptuously.

The Seventh Adil Shāhi War: 1547[40]-1548 A.D.

The humiliation of Jamsheed in the war of 1544 A.D. left discontent smouldering, which threatened at any time to set the Deccan states once again at war. Jamsheed spent some time[41] at Golkonda collecting men and money, and once again marched on Bidar to punish Kāsim[42] for his attacks in the late war. Kāsim also advanced to meet him. In the battle at Nārāyankerra neither side gained an advantage. Jamsheed turned towards Kowlas,[43] but immediately his camp at Nārāyankerra was attacked by Kāsim and the Kutub Shāhi troops were routed. Kāsim retired to Bidar, and Jamsheed quickly took possession of Kowlas, Nārāyankerra, and Ahswabād. Burhan, who had been invited[44] by him after his reverse at Nārāyankerra, joined him about this time.[45] The former, ever ready to benefit himself and in revenge for Ally Bareed's[46] refusal of help in 1546 A.D., when he was in difficulties with Bijāpur at the time of the Hoorchean battle, marched against Bidar and began hostilities with the siege of Owsa.

Greatly alarmed at Burhan's entry into war, Bareed promised to cede Kulliany[47] to the Adil Shāh if he would send him assistance. Ibrāhim despatched Yekhlas Khān with 5,000 cavalry to his support.[48] The Bijāpur forces effected a junction with those of Bidar at Kulliany[49] and the allies fought two actions, one with Ahmadnagar forces close to Owsa[50] and another with those of Golkonda at Nārāyankerra,[51] in both of which the defenders were defeated.[52] Owsa fell to Burhan, who then marched against Odgir. Taking Odgir, he proceeded against Kandahār. Here the enemy made another effort to prevent the fall of the place. He was defeated again and the fort fell[53] into Nizām Shāh's hands.

In the meantime, the Kutub Shāhi army, which had been laying siege to Meduk, took it after a long siege.[54] Rāma Rāya also appears to have sent his forces to join this alliance. About this time Jamsheed, marching further from Kowlas, joined Burhan and his ally before Owsa.[55] Then turning towards Medak, he

captured it from Kāsim Bareed's forces. Venkatādri, who appears to have been the leader of Vijayanagar forces on this occasion, claims to have fought a battle against Bareed and captured his insignia of royalty and military[56] band.[57] Owsa and Odgir also falling, Kāsim appealed to the Adil Shāh for help. In response to this, he sent 5,000 cavalry under Yekhlas Khān as reinforcement. With this Kāsim marched from Bidar to Kowlas. Jamsheed intercepted Kāsim's progress at Nārāyankerra and after inflicting a crushing defeat on him returned to Golkonda. The Nizām Shāhi army also was equally successful against Bareed and his Bijāpur ally by taking Owsa, Odgir and Kandahār after which Burhan returned towards his capital in 1548 A.D.

The Second Pact with the Portuguese: 19th Sept. 1547 A.D.

Even since 1545 A.D.[58] when Assud Khān first entertained a desire to dethrone Ibrāhim Adil Shāh and place his brother Abdulla[59] on the throne, the Portuguese had been showing unusual interest in the politics of the Deccan. Tempted by the offer of Konkan by Assud, Dom Garcia de Castro, the Governor of Goa, had even settled to support that prince's cause by force of arms.[60] Angry at this uncalled for interference in his domestic affairs, the Adil Shāh had once before marched down the ghats to punish the Portuguese. Although successful in his attempt, he feared that troubles may break out again, and so, Ibrāhim had later made up matters with them, by offering the Portuguese Salsette and Bardes in return for their sending away[61] the rebel prince to a distant place. But the Portuguese failed to keep their promise and brought Abdulla back to Goa after a short time; and so, the king of Bijapur demanded of them either to keep their word or hand over the places given to them. As they did neither, misunderstandings increased and the Adil Shāh had sent more than one expedition[62] to recover the two places. But De Castro, the successor of Alfonso, afraid of similar incursions into the territories of Salsette and Bardes by the forces of the Adli Shāh, contacted the king of Vijayanagar and the Nizām Shāh and proposed a triple alliance.

Rāma Rāya, who had his own grievance against the Adil Shāh, welcomed the embassy sent by Burhan with presents, and readily concluded a pact with him and the Portuguese against Bijāpur.

By the terms of this treaty with the latter, it was settled that Vijayanagar should have the monopoly of the horse trade of Goa. It was also agreed that each party to this alliance was to be the friend of the friends and the enemy of the enemies of the other, and that when called to help each other against all Kings and Lords in India, with the exception of Nizām Shāh, they should help each other; in return the Governor of Goa agreed to allow the Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the king of Vijayanagar on due notice and proper payment, none being permitted to be sent to Bijāpur; the king of Vijayanagar would, in his turn, compel all the merchants in his kingdom, who were trading with the coast, to send their goods through ports where the Portuguese had factories, permitting none to proceed to Bijāpur ports; further, he would forbid all importation of salt-petre, cloth, copper, tin, China silk and iron into his kingdom from any Bijāpur port and would compel their purchase from the Portuguese factories; and lastly, he would not allow any Moorish ship or fleet to stop in his ports, and, if any should come, he would capture them and send them to Goa. Thus, both parties agreed to wage war on the Adil Shāh, and settled that all territory to be taken from the latter should belong to Vijayanagar, except the lands on the west of the ghats from Banda to Cintacora which should go to the Portuguese.

Prince Abdulla's rebellion: 1548 A.D.[63]

A series of defeats, beginning with 1544 A.D., led Ibrahim Adil Shāh to believe that they were the result of disaffection of his officers and the intrigues of the Brahmans who were at the head of his civil affairs. This feeling reached its climax after the Hoorchean battle,[64] and he put 40 Hindus and 70 Mussalmāns to death in two months on vague suspicions. These cruelties led at last many nobles to conspire to dethrone him and place his brother, Abdulla, on the throne. The plot was discovered and Abdulla escaped to Goa seeking the protection of the Portuguese. Enraged at his escape, Ibrāhim Adil Shāh punished many more Brahmans with tortures. Assud Khān also, finding things dangerous at Bijāpur, retired to Belgaum. Shortly after,[65] he started his intrigues with the Portuguese at Goa to support the cause of Abdulla, in return for which he offered them the kingdom of Konkan.[66] Burhan, who was returning to his capital after his

recent successes against Bareed,[67] was met on the road[68] by some discontented nobles of Bijāpur, who related to him Ibrāhim's cruelties and of his younger brother's escape to Goa, and invited him to invade the Bijāpur territory and place Abdulla on the throne. Jamsheed also was invited to join this alliance.[69]

According to this arrangement, Burhan first marched on Belgaum, but, failing to take the place, retired home to Ahmadnagar. Shortly after, hearing of Assud Khān's dangerous illness, he decided on another move against Bijāpur, and sent an embassy to Rāma Rāya,[70] with presents and professions, inviting him to a confederacy. When all arrangements were ready, Abdulla[71] marched from Goa with some Portuguese help and openly proclaimed himself king.[72] Burhan also marched south to effect a junction with Abdulla and take over Belgaum in case of Assud's death. At Bijāpur, the nobles were ready to desert to Abdulla. But Burhan, instead of marching at once on Bijāpur, stayed at Miraj, sending a spy to Belgaum to win over Assud's soldiers. This failed,[73] and the other Bijāpur nobles held back their support, as Assud, the first noble, was unwilling to take part in rebellion. At this, the Portuguese marched back to Goa with Abdulla, and the other confederates also retired to their own dominions.

Ibrahim, on the other hand, was not slow to march upon Belgaum, when the news of Assud's illness reached him. After the latter's death, he outwardly consoled the Khān's dependents but confiscated all his estates and treasure. Next, with the object of punishing the Portuguese for their part in the conspiracy, he marched down the Ghāts[74] and recovered Konkan for himself, thus crushing Abdulla's rebellion. But fearing that the conspiracy might break out against him once again, he offered to hand over the lands of Sālsette and Bardes and also the whole of Assud's treasures to the Portuguese, if Martin Alfonso, their governor, would deliver Abdulla to him. Unwilling to act so treacherously towards the man whose cause he had so recently espoused, Alfonso promised the Adil Shāh, that, in consideration of those lands to be made over to him, he would send Abdulla away to a place from which he could not again disturb Ibrāhim. This, the king of Bijāpur agreed to and made over Sālsette and Bardes to the Portuguese, and, on his part, Alfonso sent away Abdulla to Cannanore.

St Francis Xavier and the Spread of Christianity: 1541-1549 A.D.

Stray efforts by some Catholic priests to Christianize the Hindus had been made here and there along the coast of south India, especially around Goa and the Malabār coast. For instance, some 20,000 Paravārs of Barathars[75] of the fishery coast being at war with their Muslim neighbours had offered themselves to be baptized for the sake of obtaining Portuguese assistance against their enemies. Accordingly, priests had been sent from Cochin and the Paravārs had been converted. As a result of this bargain, hostilities between the Portuguese and the Muslims had followed, as the latter felt that their pearl trade was in jeopardy. A decisive victory had also been obtained by the Portuguese Admiral Martin Alphonso de Souza at Vadalai in January 1538 A.D. Meanwhile, news of the conversion of these people having reached Lisbon, King John III of Portugal informed the Pope, through his ambassador, that more than 50,000 souls around Cape Camorin had been converted to Christianity and that there was a hope of the whole region coming over to the Christian faith. After a search of the best man for the purpose, the Pope recommended one Xavier, a disciple of the famous St. Ignatius, and another Francies Mansilhas Jesuitsuous in March 1540 A.D. In June of that year Xavier arrived at Lisbon and in the next, he left for India with the returning Admiral, Martin Alphonso de Souza. Arriving at Goa in due course on May 6th of 1542, and after spending five months there he proceeded to the fishery coast in October 1542 A.D. Xavier was a missionary of exceptional abilities. He was in many ways a worthy representative of his great Master, Jesus Christ. No sooner did he arrive at Goa than he set himself to his great work with a zeal and determination very rarely found among his compeers. He created a reputation for himself by his preaching and social work.

With this great asset he left for the fishery coast with his companion, Mansiltas, and three Indian clerics. Having arrived at the destination he managed to translate into Tamil a brief summary of many articles of the Christian faith. Giving himself no rest, he preached to all and prayed for and with all. After labouring in this fashion for a little more than a year, Xavier returned to Cochin and Goa to ask for help. A letter from him to St. Ignatius dated October 18, 1543 A.D. marks the date of his

presence once again at Goa. In February 1544 A.D. he returned to the fishery coast with two European and two Goan priests to continue the work among the Paravārs.

But this was almost undone by the Udughers or soldiers in the service of the Rāja of Madurāi, who came to restore the coast to the Pāndians of Madurai. Almost at the same time, the viceroy, Alfonso de Souza, sent some Portuguese to Travancore to rob the pagan temples of their treasures, but these fell in unwares with the Udughers (Badages), and fearing capture took refuge in their ships. The Udughers, found that they had lost an opportunity of avenging their Gods on the *paranguis*, and turned their wrath on the Paravārs of the Cape. These poor people, to escape the Udughers fled to the neighbouring islands, and soon realised that they had neither rice to eat nor water to drink. Xavier came to their rescue, exhorting the northern Paravārs to come and help their brothers. He himself at the head of 20 boats, which the charity of the Portuguese had loaded with provisions, brought comfort to the distressed. Meanwhile, the Udughers attempted to enter Travancore through the Aramboli pass. According to Mansilhas, the saint (Xavier) miraculously stopped the advancing army. At any rate, through his endeavours peace was concluded between the belligerents. The fishery coast was restored to Madurāi and the Ghats formed the new frontier between the Travancore and the Pāndian kingdoms. It was then that the Rājā of Travancore, grateful to Xavier for the work he had done in averting an invasion, invited him to go to his capital. So, in the words of Fr. Valignam, an early Jesuit writer: 'After the saint had employed his second year on the fishery coast, he passed to another, called the Travancore coast that extends from Cape Camorin to Quilon'.

On this occasion, Xavier confined his labours to that coast because he counted on the assistance from Portuguese traders. Here also his labours lay among the fisherman of the coast (*Mukavāns*). The captain (governor) of Quilon, which was held by the Portuguese, co-operated with Xavier by threatening the poor people with his wrath in regard to their fishing activities while the saint held out salvation for their souls and also material help from the Portuguese. This induced a great number of them to accept Christianity. In course of his mission Xavier went by foot from village to village to gather converts from Pernumanal to

Quilon. Thus, in the course of a month, as the saint writes to St. Ignatius, he baptized over 10,000 persons. In return for this he arranged with the captain of Quilon that the converts on producing a certificate of good conduct from the missionary should be granted a licence for unobstructed trade.

Xavier's name, having spread far and wide, some fishermen, living at Palam in Manar and desiring Portuguese protection sent a deputation requesting Xavier to come and baptize them. A priest was sent in his stead and a great multitude baptized. At this the ruler of Jāffna fearing that the Portuguese might enter the island under the pretext of protecting the new converts, sent his soldiers to compel the converts to return to their old religion or be slaughtered. Several hundreds were killed. Xavier, shocked at the news, left Travancore, perhaps for Goa, to induce the viceroy to turn the might of Portugal to avenge them.

Meanwhile, the first son of the Rāja of Jāffna himself, moved by the examples of the martyrs and instructed by a Portuguese merchant, embraced the Christian faith. The enraged father, failing to turn his mind, had him removed to a jungle and killed. But his own sister begged the Portuguese to take the late prince's two boys for safety to Goa and instruct them. On the other hand, Xavier pleaded with the Viceroy not only to avenge the martyrs but to help him in converting Ceylon. At first the Viceroy agreed but later changed his mind. At this Xavier returned to Cochin. Soon after, he left on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore, stayed there four months, and later left for the Moluccas. At the beginning of 1548 A.D., Xavier returned to Cochin and some time after, he left for the fishing coast. During this visit he stayed for a while at Manapad, then passed over to Ceylon and finally arrived in Goa in March 1548[76] A.D.

The Secret Treaty of 1549 A.D.[77]

Although Golkonda and Ahmadnagar had completely triumphed over Bidar and Bijāpur in the last war, Jamsheed did not find himself safe from the mischief of Bareed whose ambition and intriguing nature were notorious. He knew that his enemy, in order to continue the alliance with Ibrāhim Adil Shāh, constantly sent him presents, and even feigned a sort of allegiance[78] to him.

Bent upon breaking this alliance any how, Jamsheed wrote to Burhan Nizām Shāh, that, as Bareed was in the habit of committing depredations on the territories of his neighbours, it was desirable for the other kings of the Deccan to unite and reduce him altogether. For this purpose he advised him to make overtures to the king of Bijāpur to induce him to become a party to the confederacy to reduce and divide Kāsim Bareed's territories. On Burhan writing to Ibrahim, the latter forgot all obligations of his former alliance and present friendship, and, moved only by self-aggrandisement, readily entered into the scheme. Yet another condition of this secret treaty was that in return for allowing Burhan to attack the country of Bareed, the Adil Shāh should be left unmolested in any attack he might choose to make on Vijayanagar[79]. Accordingly, Burhan proceeded eastwards, attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kandahar[80]. Báreed, alarmed at this and unaware of the secret treaty, left a strong garrison to defend Bidar and fled to his old ally Ibrāhim by whom he was seized and confined. Ibrāhim then moved southward, where he succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindus[81].

The Eighth Adil Shāhi War: 1549 A.D.[82]

After the failure of his plans during Abdulla's rebellion, Burhan Nizām Shāh turned to Rāma Rāya for alliance. After the death of Assud Khān, he deputed ambassadors to Rāma Rāya with presents, inviting him to a confederacy. Presents and professions of regard were also exchanged between them. Learning of these moves Ibrāhim Adil Shāh treated the resident Vijayanagar ambassadors at Bijāpur with such marked disrespect that they quitted the place in great indignation and reported to Rāma that if they had not left Bijāpur they would, perhaps, have been put to death by Ibrāhim[83]. Enraged at this treatment of his representatives, Rāma wrote to Burhan that as Ally Bareed had made an alliance with Bijāpur, it was better for Burhan to take Kalyāni from him. In accordance with the late treaty, a Vijayanagar detachment also appears to have co-operated with their ally in this campaign laying siege to Kalyāni. At this, Ibrahim Adil Shāh on Ally Bareed's request marched to relieve it and fixed his camp within sight of the Nizām's forces. Both of them then fortified their camps, waiting for an opportunity to strike.

The Adil Shāh, in the meantime, started to cut off the supplies to the allies. As a result of this they experienced great famine. But a surprise attack by them on Ibrāhim's camp inflicted such a crushing defeat on the king of Bijāpur that, leaving all his baggage, tents, artillery etc., he narrowly escaped himself being caught[84]. The same day an attack was delivered on Kalyāṇi also, as a result of which it surrendered[85]. Ibrahim, on the other hand, in order to save his country from devastation by the allied troops that followed him, fled through the Nizam Shāhi country. Arriving on his way suddenly before Purenda, he took it by surprise. But, learning that the allies were following him, he left one of his officers in charge of the fort, and he himself continued his flight through the enemy country, extorting heavy contributions from the people. In the end, however, afraid of Burhan's approach, he fled to Bijāpur. Burhan who was pursuing Ibrāhim easily recovered Purenda, where he left an officer and retired to Ahmadnagar.

The Ninth Adil Shāhi War: C. 1550 A.D.[86]

There appears to have been only a short pause after the late Kalyāṇi campaign by Ahmadnagar. Burhan was again active. In 1550 A.D., the year following the alliance and referred to by Ferista as 'in the following years[87], he marched his army unopposed through the greater part of Bijāpur territory in order to meet Rāma Rāya personally and enter into terms with him against Bijāpur. Rāma agreed to meet him near Rāichoor to concert plans for the next year. At this meeting, it was settled that both of them should attack the Bijāpur territory simultaneously, Rāma taking Mudgal, Raichoor and other dependencies south of the Krishna and Burhan, Sholāpur and Gulburga.

Learning that Ibrahim Adil Shāh was making preparations at Bijāpur to retake Kalyāni[88], Burhan declared war on the Adil Shāh and proceeded to attack Sholāpur. Rāma also moved with a considerable force to take Raichoor and Burhan's troops also arrived to assist him and the combined forces captured Raichoor[89]. Mudgal also surrendered to Vijayanagar without opposition[90]. Deputing Venkatādri to assist Burhan, Rāma returned to Vijayanagar. Finding himself thus attacked on two sides, Ibrāhim sent ambassadors to Jamsheed seeking his help[91]. Ahmadnagar also

sought Jamsheed's aid[92]. In response to this invitation Jamsheed marched at once close to Sholāpur, but, without taking any side, sat down bargaining for favourable terms. Bareed[93], who was then a prisoner with Ibrāhim, took the opportunity to appeal to Jamsheed to secure his freedom, in return for which he promised to cede any portion of his country. In the hope of securing Jamsheed's assistance, Ibrāhim released Kāsim at the former's intercession, sending also some presents at the same time. Jamsheed, on the other hand, unwilling to join any party, proceeded with Kāsim to Bidar where he placed him on the throne and after receiving large presents returned home to Golkonda. Burhan, on the other hand, after a siege of 4 months, carried Sholāpur by assault[94]. He was next about to proceed to take Gulburga, when, hearing that Rāma Rāya had already reduced Rāichoor and Mudgal and returned to Vijayanagar[95], and perhaps influenced by Jamsheed's sudden retreat, he also thought it advisable to retire to Ahmadnagar. Thus ended the war of 1549-50 A.D.

Rāma Rāya helps Ibrāhim Kutub to regain his Throne: 1550 A.D.

The death of Jamsheed in 1550 A.D. drew the attention of Vijayanagar towards Golkonda. Subhan Kuli, Jamsheed's son and successor, being a child two years old, the whole administration was in the hands of Saif Khān, the regent, and Jagat Rao, his assistant. These persons, by their haughtiness, offended most of the officers of the court. The Deccan nobles, on the other hand, crowded into the palace and, in clamouring for situations, became so riotous that Mustapha Khān, the Prime Minister, immediately wrote to Ibrāhim Kutub at Vijayanagar inviting him to proceed to Golkonda and take over the government. Other nobles also, who were discontented with the regent, joined him in the invitation. Consulting Syed Hye and Hameed Khān, his companions in adversity, Ibrāhim Kutub settled to proceed to Golkonda at once and proclaim himself king. At first Rāma Rāya is said to have been unfavourable[96] to Ibrahim's quitting his service to set up vague pretensions to the throne. But yielding at last to his wishes, he even offered to send his brother Venkatādri with 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry[97] to his support. But, afraid of his Hindu auxiliaries usurping his government, on behalf of Rāma Rāya, Ibrahim is said to have left Vijayanagar without taking any help[98].

On his arrival at the frontier, he was met by Mustapha Khān whom he honoured with the title of Mir Jumla. Proceeding as far as Pāngal, he was shortly after joined by Salabat Khān with 3,000 foreign cavalry. Other officers also joined him adding 5,000 infantry to his strength. The next stage was to tempt the *Naikwāries* of Kowilkonda. These promised to deliver up that fort into his hands and take the oath of allegiance to him. From then on, Kowilkonda became Ibrāhim's headquarters to which daily most of the principal officers of the state flocked. Thus in the course of two months, having collected 4,000 regular cavalry, he waited for Seif Khān, who now marched against him as far as Gunpura.

Learning that Golkonda was without any protection now, Ibrāhim sent one of the *Naikwāries* to reduce the Hindu garrison of that place. This was easily achieved, and Jagadeva Rao was released from confinement, and in his place Jagat Rao, the governor of Golkonda, during the regent's absence, was imprisoned. All the nobles who were in favour of Subhan Kooly were put to death, and the young king was imprisoned. At this news, the regent fled towards the frontier with 5,000 cavalry, having first enriched himself with the greater part of the late king's treasures. Allowing him to escape, Ibrāhim proceeded to Golkonda where he was welcomed by Jagadeva Rao and others and thus became king on July 27, 1550 A.D.[99].

The Siege of Bijāpur: 1553 A.D.[100]

The year 1553 A.D. saw a renewal of hostilities between Bijāpur and her enemies. Burhan again formed an alliance with Rāma Rāya and marched towards Bijāpur. The Vijayanagar forces also appear to have co-operated with him on this occasion[1]. Unable to cope with this combination, Ibrāhim Adil Shāh fled to Panhaḷa for safety and the allies laid siege to Bijāpur[2]. But Burhan suddenly taking ill and returning to his capital, the campaign came to an end, especially as Burhan died some time after and his successor Hussain made peace with Ibrāhim.

The Humiliation of Bijāpur: C. 1553 A.D.[3]

The death of Burhan Nizām Shāh brought about a change in the politics of the Deccan. Hussein, his son by his fạvourite wife

Ammenā, succeeded him. The foreigners and Abyssinians espoused his cause. The Deccanis sided with his full brother, Abdul Khāder, who, at length, being deserted by his party, fled to Imad-ool-Mulk of Berār whose asylum he sought. Shāh Ally and Meeran Mohamad Bakur, sons of Burhan by Beeby Murgum, the daughter of Yoosuf Adil Shāh, fled to their relative, Ibrāhim, at Bijāpur. Another son, Shāh Hyder, who was married to a daughter of Khwājā Jahān of Purenda, fled to his father-in-law and laid claim to the throne of Ahmadnagar. On Hussein's marching against him, he escaped with Khwājā Jahān to the court of Bijāpur, leaving Purenda to be occupied by Nizām Shāhi forces.

Naturally enough the Adil Shāh took up the cause of the disinherited princes who were his relatives and at the instigation of Khwājā Jahān[4], broke the peace which he had a short while ago concluded with Hussein at the time of his accession. Then he invited Seif-Ein-Ool-Mulk, the commander-in-chief of the late Burhan, who had taken refuge in Berar, and conferred high titles and considerable estates and presents on him. By his advice Ibrāhim espoused Shāh Ally's cause, on condition that when he was seated on the Ahmadnagar throne, the fort of Kalyāṇi, and Sholāpur should be surrendered to him[5]. In accordance with this arrangement, Prince Ally marched to the Nizām Shāhi frontier with 2,000 horse, which had followed him in his flight from Ahmadnagar and tried to win over the nobles of his father's court to his cause. At this news, Hussein appealed for help to Imad Shāh of Berār[6] and got 7,000 cavalry as reinforcement. With this he marched to raise the siege of Sholāpur. Ibrāhim Adil, in his turn, marched in support of Ally. A severe battle followed on the plains of Sholāpur, in which, in spite of Ein-ool-Mulk's bravery, Ibrāhim was defeated[7] and fled to Bijāpur without rest.

*Rāma saves the Adil Shāh from a Catastrophe[8]: C. 1556 A.D.**

Close on the footsteps of the Adil Shāh, Ein-ool-Mulk also followed him in his retreat to Bijāpur. After arriving at that place he begged the king to grant him some money to re-gather his battered followers. Ibrahim, who suspected his loyalty and

* Compare for conditions in the neighbouring Tilangana area in 1555-1565. H. K. Shsrwain: 'Tilangana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah: Diplomacy and Military Compaigns: Part I, 1555-1565' (*JIH*, XXXV, (2) pp. 247-269; and *JIE* (3) pp. 359-385.

thought that the late battle was lost by his carelessness, not only refused to help him but drove him out of court, telling him to go wherever he liked. Stung at this treatment for no fault of his Ein-ool-Mulk raised the standard of revolt and being encouraged by the initial success over the troops sent against him, began collecting the revenues of many districts of the Bijāpur kingdom. At this, Ibrāhim marched against him in person but being defeated in a battle fought on the river Mean, fled to his capital for safety. Following up his success, Ein-ool-Mulk appeared before the walls of Bijāpur and laid siege to it[9].

In this critical situation, Ibrāhim shut himself up in the citadel and sending 120,000 *hoons*[10] to Rāma Rāya, sought his help[11]. At this Rāma sent his brother Venkatādri with a considerable force to expel the rebel Ein-ool-Mulk, intimating Assud Khān to surprise the infidels; but Venkatādri, having intelligence of his designs, ordered his troops to be on their guard; and having procured long faggots, with cloth soaked in oil bound round one end of each, commanded his followers, upon the alarm being given, to light them and, holding them up as high as possible, give the troops a full sight of the enemy. Ein-ool-Mulk, agreeably to his intentions, having one night chosen two thousand men for the purpose, marched with Sulabat Khān to the enemy's camp, which he was allowed to enter unmolested; but upon the signal given, all the brands were instantly lighted up, and Venkatādri who was prepared with his troops rushed upon the unsuspecting surprisers with such success that above 500 of them were killed before the detachment could clear the camp. Ein-ool-Mulk and Salabat with the greatest difficulty made their escape; but losing the road through the darkness of the night a report spread in his camp, on the return of some of the fugitives, that he was killed; and his troops being immediately struck with panic fled to different quarters[12]. Ein-ool-Mulk and Salabat Khān with 200 horse, arriving about day light at the ground and seeing it deserted, fled in confusion by the route of Mean to the dominions of Nizām Shāh, where they sought protection but were basely assasinated by his treachery.

The Goa Expedition: C. 1555-56 A.D.[13]

In the year 1555 A.D.[14] while Dan Fedro Mascarenhas was the Viceroy of Goa, the old trouble of Abdulla again showed its

head. Overtures being made to him by some influential subjects of Bijāpur, the Portuguese again took up his cause in return for the promise of the revenues of Konkan. Accordingly, the Viceroy proclaimed him king of Bijāpur and advanced with 3,000 Portuguese infantry and 200 horse and a large body of Indian supporters to establish him on the throne. After slight resistance, Ponda was captured and Abdulla set up his government there[15]. Francisco Barreto, the next governor, not only continued the policy of his predecessor by installing Abdulla as king of Bijāpur at Ponda, but also sent out a number of Portuguese captains to collect the revenues of the neighbouring districts in Abdulla's name. Dom Fernando De Munroyo was stationed at Ponda; Dom Antonio De Nuronha was sent to Konkan, Miguel Rodrigues Continho to the territories of Sālsette and Bardes, while the governor himself proceeded against Dhābul.

Angry at this interference, the Adil Shāh sent for aid to Vijayanagar. With the 15,000 men sent by Rāma Rāya[16], Ibrāhim succeeded in dethroning Abdulla and in making him prisoner. He next sent expeditions to recover his territories held by the Portuguese. The first advance against Konkan consisted of 7,000 men under the Bijāpur officer Shāh Karim Agā. This fared badly against Noronha[17]. The same was the case with Munroyo at Ponda against whom Nazir Mallik was sent. Continho, the leader of the Portuguese, led his troops into the districts of Sālsette, Bardes and other sea ports of Bijāpur as far as Dhābul, killing and taking prisoner many of Adil Shāh's subjects and capturing much valuable booty and a large number of ships at Dhābul[18]. Barreto, on the other hand, proceeded against Dhābul itself which he took in spite of vigorous defence, reducing it to ashes with all the villages along the river of Choul. In 1557 A.D. the Adil Shāh again sent an army of 2,000 horse, 18,000 foot under his officer Nāzir Khān[19]. It must be during this occasion[20] that Rāma Rāya sent his first cousin Vithala Rāja against the main land of Goa, evidently in support of Ibrāhim who was now his ally. Sānthanna Naika of Keladi also appears to have taken part in this enterprise[21]. Rāchol, Ponda, Sālsette and Bardes were all attacked and though both parties claimed alternate successes, Noronha had to fall back upon Goa from Konkan and Munroyo from Ponda. In other places the Portuguese maintained their defence successfully; peace being desired by both parties in the end, a fresh treaty[22] was

drawn up between the Adil Shāh and the Portuguese, thus closing the quarrel for a time.

The First Nizām Shāhi War: C. 1556 A.D.[23]

The peace of the Deccan was again disturbed in about 1556 A.D.[24] towards the close of Ibrāhim Adil Shāh's reign. Discovering that his sons, Ally and Jahamasp, had leanings towards the Shia faith, he confined the former at Miraj and the latter at Belgaum. Then leaving his succession to the choice of God and the wisdom of his ministers, he settled down to pass his remaining years quietly.

About this time, Hussain Nizām Shāh, who had lately ascended the Ahmadnagar throne and had cause for complaint against the Adil Shāh for his espousing the cause of his rivals in the late war, decided to form an alliance with Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh of Golkonda with the object of taking vengeance on the king of Bijāpur. He sent his envoy Kāsim Beg with magnificent presents to Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh, congratulating him on his accession to the throne of Golkonda[25]. It was arranged that both Hussain and Ibrāhim Kutub should meet and proceed to reduce the forts of Gulburga and Bidar[26]. Accordingly, after effecting a junction of their forces at Gulburga, they laid siege to it shortly after. For one full month, the place resisted their attacks and even repulsed them by causing the loss of the best officers of the Nizām Shāh.

With all that, finding himself unable to cope with their united armies, Ibrāhim Adil Shāh again sent magnificent presents to Rāma Rāya begging his aid[27]. Rāma marched immediately in person[28] to his relief. On his way he wrote a letter to his friend Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh remonstrating with him for his advancing to help Hussain and requesting him to return to his capital, thus opening the way for peace. The Adil Shāh also wrote him letters at the same time with the same object. To impress him all the more, Rāma sent his brother, Yerra Thimma Rājā, with a body of cavalry to accompany some Bijāpur officers in order to lay waste the Golkonda territory[29]. The news of their depredations in the neighbourhood of Pāngal appears to have produced the desired effect in drawing off the Kutub Shāh from his alliance with Hussain. Accordingly, he consented to meet Rāma Rāya to mediate between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar. This arrangement

being communicated to Hussain, all the four chiefs met at the junction of the Bhimā and the Krishnā rivers[30], where a peace, satisfactory to all parties, was effected, after which they returned to their capitals.

The Rebellion of Rāma's brothers: C. 1556 A.D.[31]

During Rāma's absence[32] from his capital in the late campaign, his two brothers, Timma Rāj[33] and Govinda Rāj, who had been left by him in charge of Ādoni, usurped the control of not only that fort, but also collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. On his return to Vijayanagar, Rāma wrote them several letters to return to their loyalty. But relying on the strength of the army, instead of obeying him, they treated his advice with contempt. Finding it hard to subdue them, Rāma Rāya sent ambassadors to Golkonda soliciting the Kutub Shāh's assistance[34]. At this Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh immediately despatched Kubool Khān at the head of 6,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry to co-operate with Rāma Rayā. On their arrival at Vijayanagar, Ramā ordered his own force into the field directing Siddharāja Timmappa, Noorikhān and Bigly Khān with their troops to march against the rebels. Unable to oppose the royalists in the field, the rebels took shelter in the fortress of Ādoni which was besieged for six months. At last, distressed for want of provisions, the brothers sent petitions to Rāma Rāya to forgive them. Rāma, accordingly, pardoned them and recalled his forces to the capital, where, after handsomely rewarding Kubōōl Khān, permitted him to return to Golkondā.

The Alliance with Bijāpur: 1557-8 A.D.[35]

The death of Ibrāhim Adil Shāh and the succession of his son, Ally, in 1557 A.D. brought Bijāpur and Vijayanagar into closer alliance. According to the usual practice, Ally, on coming to the throne, sent ambassadors both to Vijayanagar and to Ahmadnagar intimating their kings of his coming to power. Kishwarkhān and Shāh Aboo Toorab Shirāzzy who went to Vijayanagar were received by Rāma Rāya kindly and sent back with one of Rāma's own trusted officers to congratulate Ally on his accession. But Muhamed Hussain Sadicky, who had been sent to Ahmadnagar with the same object, was not treated properly by Hussain, who showed signs of decided hostility.

To reinforce his good relations with Vijayanagar, Ally took advantage of the opportunity of the death of a son of Rāma Rāya, and proceeded to Vijayanagar, attended by only 100 horse[36] to offer the bereaved parent his condolence in person. Rāma received Ally with proper honour while the latter, with kindest persuasions, prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning. Even the wife of Rāma Rāya went so far as adopting Ally as her son on this occasion. After spending three days in exchanging presents and offering professions, Ally took his leave of Rāma Rāya after entering into an alliance with him. Luckily for him, the Nizām Shāhi invasion also had come to a sudden end by this time as Hussain Nizām was compelled to fall back[37] on Ahmadnagar as his ally, Ibrāhim Kutub, not entering with zeal[38] into the enterprise, suddenly left for Golkonda[39] abandoning his ally.

The Second Nizām Shāhi War: 1558[40]—1559 A.D.[41]

Encouraged by this alliance, Ally sent a message to Nizām Shāh Hussain Anjoo requesting him to restore Kalyāṇi and Sholāpur[42] or the former at least[43] as both of them belonged to Bijāpur. Getting no response, the Adil Shāh sent another embassy with the same purpose. To this he got only a rude reply from Hussain. War was decided upon and the help of Vijayanagar was sought. Rāma willingly agreed to proceed with him[44], sending at the same time letters to Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh to join them in accordance with the treaty of C. 1556 A.D. Kutub, though unwilling to join them, yet not create a breach of the treaty and thus draw the vengeance of Rāma and Ally on him, agreed to join him at Gulbarga[45].

Accompanied by his allies, Rāma marched with an army of 100,000 horse and 900,000 infantry[46]. After taking Kalyāṇi on their way[47], they proceeded towards the enemy capital[48] laying waste the Nizām Shāhi country so thoroughly that not a vestige of the population was left from Purenda to Joonere and from Ahmadnagar to Daulatābād[49]. According to Ferista, the Vijayanagar forces practised every act of cruelty in this campaign by insulting the honour of Mussalmān women, destroying mosques, and even not respecting the sacred Korān[50]. Alarmed equally by the destructive policy of the enemy as by his numbers, Hussain left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions for the defence of

his capital and fled to Python[51] for refuge. From this place he sent ambassadors to Imad-ool-Mulk of Berār, Meeran Moobārik Shāh Farooky of Khāndesh and Ally Bareed Shāh of Bidar soliciting each of them to march to his assistance. His retreat appears to have been so precipitate that, being chased by a detachment of Vijayanagar troops under Venkatādri, he narrowly escaped[52] in a small boat across the Godāvari which was then in floods.

Thus, after driving him far from his capital, Rāma and Ally laid siege to it for two months and were on the point of capturing it, when victory was snatched away from their hands by the treachery of their other ally, the king of Golkonda[53]. Ibrāhim Kutub, who had no heart in the war, wrote privately to Hussain that, as he was compelled to join the allies only by political necessity, he would do his best to induce them to retire. He also sent messages to the Nizām Shāhi officer in charge of the defence at Ahmadnagar to do his best and hold out to the last. Finding that in spite of his encouragement the garrison was beginning to lose their spirits, Ibrāhim attempted to buy over some of the Vijayanagar nobles by a distribution of gold[54]. At this suggestion they made representations to Rāma Rāya that it was better for the allies to return to their homes at once, as, when the wet season set in, it would be impossible to cross the numerous rivers on the way. Rāma consented to raise the siege and return. But Ally, who knew how the besieged were suffering for want of provisions, had an interview with Rāma and offered him the district of Indgy[55], if he could only continue the siege for a month longer and stay till Ahmadnagar fell. Rāma Rāya agreed to continue the siege with even greater vigour.

Disappointed at the result, Kutub, who was bent upon not seeing Ahmadnagar fall into Adil Shāhi hands, permitted supplies and artillery from Daulatābad to pass through his camp into the fort of Ahmadnagar. Though this stiffened the resistance for sometime, the allies were closing in on the fort wall. Sure of a speedy reduction of the place, the Kutub Shāh sent as a last resort his minister Mustapha Khān to Rāma Rāya's camp to persuade him by all means to raise the siege. The scarcity of provisions in the allied camp, the approach of the rains, the rumour that the kings of Gujarāt and Boorhanpur had entered into an alliance with Hussain and were collecting their forces to march to his assistance were advanced. But, if Rāma persisted

in the siege, the minister was instructed to tell Rāma Rāya that the Golkonda troops were determined to withdraw immediately[56]. There is little doubt that the news that Loofall Khān, the regent of Berār, had invaded Telangāna with 4,000 cavalry and was plundering it at that time, also contributed to Kutub's persistence. To none of these Rāma listened until the minister offered on behalf of the Kutub Shāh the fort and district of Kondapalli.

Meantime, a large force under Jehāngir Khān, sent by the king of Berār to Hussain's relief employed itself in cutting off the supplies of the besiegers. This produced a famine and induced Rāma Rāya to retire. Thus compelled to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar, the allies fell back upon Ashty[57], where they encamped. Here it was settled to send one division of the army to Purenda and another to Owsa, and, after securing supplies, to return to the siege of Ahmadnagar[58]. While waiting thus, Kāsim Beigand and Molla Inayut-Oolla, two messengers from Hussain Nizām Shāh, came to Rāma Rāya to sue for peace. As the best under the circumstances, it was granted on the following three conditions[59].

1. Hussain should cede the fortress of Kalyāṇi, which the allies had already taken, to Ally Adil Shāh.
2. He should put Jehāngir Khān, the Berār auxiliary of Hussain, to death for his activities against the allies.
3. And Hussain should submit to pay Rāma Rāya a visit and receive pan from his hands.

The Humiliation of Hussain Nizām Shāh

In accordance with the conditions, Hussain first sent assassins to murder Jehānghir Khān, who had helped him so much in this war. Then he proceeded to the camp of Rāma Rāya to receive pan from his hands. On Hussain's entering the tent, Rāma rose from his seat and took him by the hand. At this, Hussain called for a basin and washed his hands as if they had been polluted by Rāma Rāya's touch. Rāma was greatly offended and cried out 'If he were not my guest I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck'. Then calling for water he also washed. This created so much of bad feelings that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot. Hussain, on giving the keys of Kalyāṇi to Rāma Rayā said, 'I give them to you as a present'. Rāma sent them immediately to Ally Adil Shāh. After his giving pan to Hussain, the

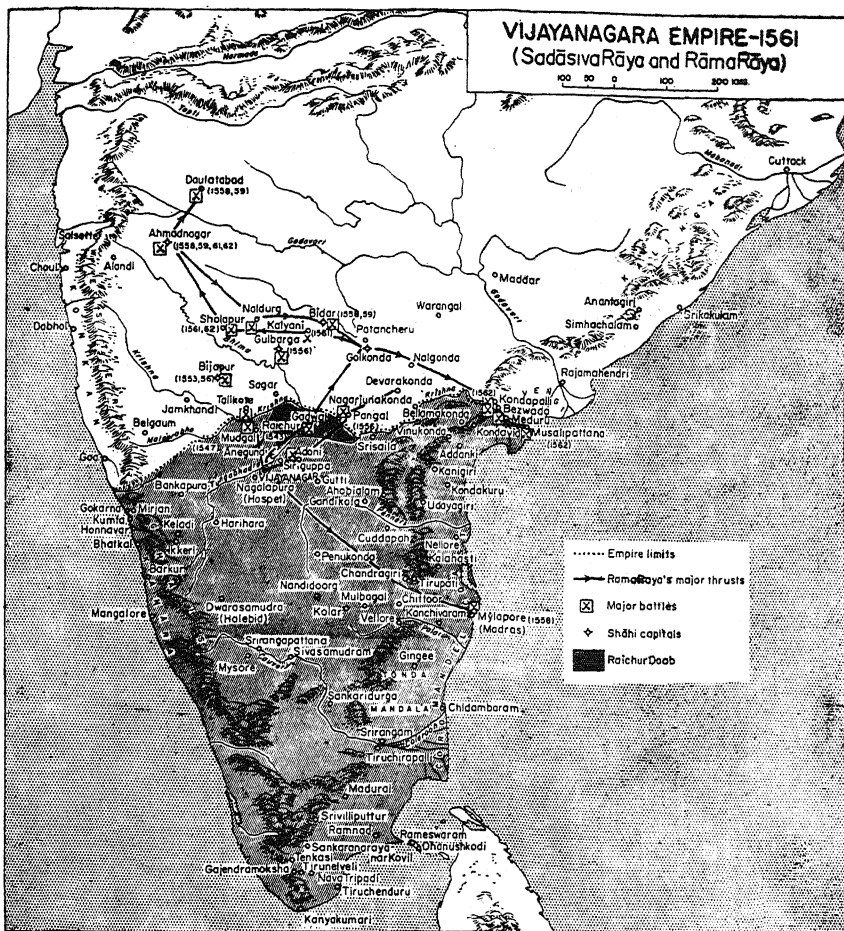
latter departed without even visiting Ally. The formalities of the treaty were concluded by the representatives of the victor and the vanquished, Venkatādri and Erra Timma Rāja on behalf of the former and Kāsim Being and Molla Ināyat for the latter. This over, the allies marched south to their respective capitals.

Rāma's South Indian Expedition: 1558 A.D.

Scarcely had Rāma returned to his capital and taken a little rest when he was called to proceed to south India in response to an appeal by his subjects. The coming in of Don Constantine De Braganza as the new Viceroy of Goa was marked by every kind of violence and aggression. The Christian priests of the order of Saint Francis, having seized all the coast from Nāgapatam to San Thome, demolished many temples and destroyed many pagodas throughout that tract. Grieved at these violent acts, the Brahmans reported the facts to Rāma and begged him to hasten to their assistance and the honour of their Gods. Rāma undertook an expedition to Mylāpore where there was an important establishment of the Roman Catholic monks and the Church of Saint Thomas. The claim of Tātāchārya, the high priest of Rāma Rāya, to have accompanied him in his expedition to the south probably relates to this. The details of this campaign are not available. All that is known is that Rāma passed Chandragiri on his way south. There is little doubt that he restored order in the disturbed tracts before his return home. The claim of Doddayyāchārya, a great Vaishnava scholar who lived about this time at Sholinghar, that he was successful in re-establishing the worship of the Vaishnava Diety in the temple at Chidambaram with Rāma Rāya's assistance, must also be taken to have happened at this time only.

The Portuguese Havoc: 1559-60 A.D.

Perhaps in revenge for Rāma Rāya's expedition against Mylāpore, or independently of it, Luiz De Mello, a Portuguese officer, carried fire and sword along the Malabār coast in the year 1559 A.D. Mangalore, a port of the Empire, was set on fire and all its inhabitants put to death. Later in the year, De Mello destroyed in a similar manner a number of towns and villages on the same coast desolating the whole sea-board. In 1560 A.D. the See of Goa, was elevated into an archbishopric, and the inhabitants of Goa and its dependencies were forced to embrace Christianity, and on

Drawn by N.H Itagi, Direction by M H Gopal

refusal were imprisoned or tortured. These depredations were extended over many parts of south India in the years that followed. It is not clear what steps were taken by Vijayanagar to afford protection to its vassals and subjects.

The Third Nizām Shāhi War: 1561-1562 A.D.[60]

The flames of war again blazed up in the year 1562 A.D. After the peace of 1559 A.D. for which Hussain Nizām Shāh[61] was very grateful to the Kutub Shāh, he sent Moulānā Ināyat Oolā to Golkonda offering thanks for his friendly attitude during the siege of Ahmadnagar and congratulating him for his safe return home. The ambassador was also instructed to seek a family alliance with Kutub, if possible. Ibrāhim agreed to the marriage proposal whereupon the two kings met each other in the neighbourhood of Kalyāṇi in the following year[62]. On this occasion, Beeby Jumally, daughter of Hussain, was given in marriage to Ibrāhim. After celebrating festivities for a month, they together laid siege to Kalyāṇi[63]. At this news, Ally Adil Shāh again sent Kishwar Khān and Aboo Toorab[64] to Vijayanagar to solicit Rāma Rāya's aid, inviting at the same time Ally Bareed[65] to join the confederacy he was arranging.

As a first measure, Rāma detached his brother Venkatādri together with Jagadeva Rao and Bin-ool-Mulk at the head of 15,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry to invade the southern districts of Kutub Shāh. Then after effecting a junction with the Adil Shāhi forces on the banks of the Krishṇa, he marched with the main army of Vijayanagar consisting of 50,000 horse and a great number of foot[67] towards Kalyāṇi[68]. The troops of Ally Bareed and, Burhan Imad Shāh also joined[69] him and his ally shortly after. When the news of Venkatādri's depredation and Rāma's advance reached Kutub and Hussain, they consulted together and, raising the siege of Kalyāṇi, decided to retreat to their capitals. As Kutub Shāh's march lay in the route of the allies, Hussain sent his son Prince Moortuza Khān with 3,000 horse to accompany him on the way. Notwithstanding this, Ibrāhim was pursued by the Adil Shāhi troops. In an engagement that took place between them many officers of Kutub were captured while he himself reached his capital with difficulty[70]. Hussain, on the other hand, fled towards Ahmadnagar, attended by only 1,000 horse.[71] The allies, deeming it unnecessary to follow him,

resolved to give up the pursuit and marched by stages. On the approach of the allies, Hussain sent his family to Owsa and, after throwing supplies into his capital, retired to the fortress of Joonere[72].

The allies again laid siege to Ahmadnagar[73] sending out detachments to lay waste the country on all sides. This time also the Vijayanagar forces are said to have committed 'every species of indignity and atrocity on the persons and property of the faithful putting up their horses in the mosques, singing and performing their idolatrous worship inside them',[74] and 'dishonouring the women[75].' Ally Adil Shāh, scandalized at these indignities but unable to prevent them, advised Rāma Rāya to raise the siege[76], and to pursue Hussain to Joonere. Upon this the latter retired to the high mountains in the neighbourhood of that place and employed Hussain Rushun Khān Deccani, Adhum Khān, Hubsi and Sābājee Koḷi[77], with their troops to encircle the confederates and cut off their supplies; and so effectively did they lay waste the country that their advance was held up. In an engagement that took place at the village of Connor[78] between a detachment of the Bijāpur army and the Nizām Shāhi troops and those of Hussain Rustum, the latter gained some initial advantage, but in the end he was left dead on the field with 3,000 of his men.

At the approach of the rainy season, the allies returned to the siege of Ahmadnagar[79]. The army of Rāma Rāya encamped south of the fort on the bank of the Sena river. The rains started in the hills and the river swelled suddenly in the night; 300 horses and a vast number of transport cattle were drowned besides no fewer than 20 officers of rank, and upwards of 25,000 men of all descriptions were swept away by the torrent. In consequence of this disaster, Rāma raised the siege and ordered a retreat[80]. Ally Adil also, following the example, marched with him towards the south. Passing Sholāpur on the way Rāma desired to take it[81]; but as Ally feared that he would seize the place for himself and extend his power to the neighbouring countries, the plan was given up[82] when they were within some miles of the fort. Then reaching Hutgi,[83] they encamped for six months, during which time they plundered part of Telangāna and this alarmed the whole kingdom of Golkonda. Even the Bijāpur territory does not appear to have escaped the depredations of the Vijayanagar army. Under the pretence of foraging, Rāma Rāya is said to have taken the

opportunity of plundering some of the districts of his ally also[84]. And it was not till the Adil Shāh agreed to cede Yādagiri and Bāgalkot[85] in return for his help in the late war that Rāma consented to move southwards. Reaching Naldurg, the allies threw up an extensive work of stone. After which taking leave of the Adil Shāh, Rāma turned homewards[86].

The Adil Shāh, on the other hand, continued his quarrel with the Nizām Shāh a little longer[87]. Skirmishes between their troops continued till Hussain at last succeeded in supplying Sholāpur with sufficient provisions, thus making it impossible to capture the place by starvation. After this, repairing the defences of Naldurg and leaving Murtooza Khān in charge of the place, Ally Adil also returned to his capital[88].

The Fourth Kutub Shāhi War: C. 1563 A.D.[89]

Continuing his way south, Rāma Rāya entered Telangāna and encamped at the village of Tarpulli[90] about 32 miles from Golkonda. At this place a systematic plan of the invasion of the Golkonda country was organised and carried out. Jagadeva Rāo, Ein-ool-Mulk Gelāni and Venkatādri were detached to lay waste the enemy's country[91]. Jotum Rāj[92], Rāma's son-in-law, proceeded with 20,000 horse against Devarakonda and Indrakonda. Siddarāja Timmappa, the governor of Kondaveedu, advanced with 50,000 horse against Kondapalli and Musalipatnam, while Rāma with the main army employed himself in plundering the neighbourhood of the enemy's capital[93]. Against Venkatādri, Ibrāhim sent Muzahid Khān. In an action that took place for several days between them in the neighbourhood of Korkul[94], the result is said to have been indecisive. Four months were spent in this way, till Jagadeva Rāo induced the Naikwāris of Pangal, Kovil Konda and Gunpura to deliver up those forts[95]. The keys of Indrakonda were also handed over by Kāsi Rāo[96], evidently a Golkonda officer. Simultaneously with Sidarāja Timmappa's attack on Kondapalli, Seethāpathi and Vidyādri, the old enemies of the Kutub Shāhi house moved out from Rāja-Mahendri and attacked the fort of Ellore. While these incidents were happening in the provinces, skirmishes took place between the main armies of Rāma Rāya and the Kutub Shāh near the gardens of Ibrahim Shāh and the village of Bijāvara. Thus pressed on his capital, while even its neighbourhood was being

plundered by the forces of Vijayanagar and her allies, Kutub was permitted to send his minister Mustāpha Khān to negotiate peace at the intercession of Ally Bareed. After conciliating Jagadeva Rāo and securing Ally Adil Shāh's consent, Rāma Rāya was approached. On the condition of retaining the forts of Pangal and Gunpura[97]; Rāma agreed to peace and reluctantly returned to Vijayanagar, the other allies also breaking up and proceeding to their capitals. In all, this campaign is said to have occupied nearly six months[98].

The Shāhi League: 1564 A.D.

By 1563 A.D. Rāma Rāya had reached the height of his power and achieved almost the last of his great feats. The time was fast approaching when neither his exceptional diplomatic powers nor his equally exceptional military valour could keep him out of danger any further. If the Shāhi kings had fought against each other till then, they had at last discovered that their mutual jealousies were the cause of their defeats and failures. Rāma's friends as well as enemies among the Mussalmāns were equally against him for pillaging their territories. The Adil Shāh was offended because he was forced to forego the districts in return for Rāma Rāya's help. All were hurt at Rāma's haughty conduct. It is said that after the conclusion of the late campaigns he looked with contempt on all of them as of little account. Whenever their officers were admitted to his presence, it appears that he did not permit them even to sit and treated them with the utmost contempt and haughtiness. He appears to have made them attend, when in public, in his train on foot, not allowing them to mount till he gave orders, and on his return from the last Ahmadnagar expedition, officers and soldiers of his army in general are said to have treated the Mussalmāns with direct insolence, making use of contemptuous language towards them. The result of all this was a common desire among the Shāhi kings to destroy his power or to curb it so as not to leave any fear for the future. Thus did the idea of a league gradually shape itself for the destruction of Vijayanagar.

The first move in this direction appears to have been made by Ally Adil Shāh[99]. He despatched Kishwar Khān Lary to the court of the Kutub Shāh, instructing him to sound Ibrāhim and, if prudent, open to him the designed plan and take any necessary

measure to effect his purpose. The king of Golkonda, who had been inwardly stung with indignation at the haughty insolence of Rāma Rāya and his encroachments on his territory in the late war, eagerly accepted the proposal. But the one obstacle in the way was the hereditary enmity between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. This could be got over only by a family alliance between them. He, therefore, instructed his prime minister Mustāpha Khān to proceed first to Bijāpur and see if the Adil Shāh was really sincere in his intentions, in which case he directed him to proceed to Ahmadnagar. Finding the Adil Shāh definitely earnest about the league, Mustāpha proceeded to the court of Nizām Shāh, the outward object of his mission being an attempt at reconciliation between the two kings by means of a family alliance but really to effect a league with a political purpose. Seeking an interview with Hussain, he explained to him how when the Mussalmān power was united under the Bahamani sultāns it could easily balance the power of Vijayanagar, but, being now divided, suffered in all possible ways. It was, therefore, necessary, he argued, that they should all unite so that their respective people might repose in safety and their mosques and holy places be no longer defiled by the Hindus of Vijayanagar. Mustāpha so well succeeded in his object that Hussain consented to give his daughter, Chānd Beebi, to the Adil Shāh with the fort of Sholāpur as dowry, and the Adil Shāh agreed to give his sister, Hudeea Sultāna, to prince Murtooza, the eldest son of Hussain. After this the political treaties were drawn up and the most solemn oaths taken that they should cooperate with each other in the proposed war against Rāma Rāya[100]. Kutub as well as Ally Bareed also became parties to it. And it was settled that all of them should meet at Sholāpur and proceed from that place against Rāma Rāya. To find out an excuse for breaking with his old ally, Ally Adil Shāh despatched an ambassador to Vijayanagar demanding the restoration of Yādagiri, Bāgalkot, Rāichoor and Mudgal[1].

On the Eve of the War

When Rāma heard of this formidable union against him, he did not in the least descend from his haughty attitude. Regarding the enmity of the Shāhi kings as of little moment, he expelled their ambassadors with disgrace from his court. This was enough for them to declare war on him, as a result of which they began

mobilising their forces and concentrating them at Sholāpur. Rāma, on the other hand, sent his brother Erra Timma Rāja with 20,000 cavalry, 100,000 foot and 500 elephants to occupy the right bank of the Krishṇa and secure all the passages of the river. His other brother Venkatādri also was sent with an equally large army to his support[2]. At the same time orders were issued to his various vassals and provincial governors to hurry towards the capital with all their available resources. From the east, from the west and from the south, as far as the frontiers of Ceylon, soldiers came pouring into the capital. There were all classes and all castes; the Bedas and Kurubas, and the Vokkaligas from the Karnatak, the Kāpus, the Kammas, and the Velamas from the Telugu country, the Kallars, the Maravas and the Vellālas from the Tamil land, all were gathered under their respective leaders. The wealth of sixty seaports[3], and the revenue of many flourishing cities and districts were spent in arming and equipping them. When everything was ready Rāma, though now an old man of 70[4], marched with 100,000 horse and 300,000 foot[5], towards the frontier, by stages.

The Mussalmān kings, on the other hand, met at Sholāpur on the plains of Bijāpur on the 26th December 1564. Proceeding from the place of concentration, after some days they arrived at Tālikota, where, as the country on the north bank belonged to Ally Adil Shāh, he entertained his allies with great splendour. It is on account of this that, though the battle was not fought at that place[6], the name of Tālikota has assumed so much importance. When they reached the banks of the Krishṇa they found all the known ferries and fords occupied before hand by the forces of Vijayanagar and opposite to the only safe passage in front of them, they had even constructed field fortifications and strengthened them by cannon and fireworks. At this, spies were sent to explore the river in the hope of finding some place at which they might cross. But finding the passage in front of them to be the only safe one, the allies held a council and decided to cross it there only. So to throw the enemy off their guard, they made a false movement on the opposite bank for 3 days[7]. Taking this move as genuine, the Vijayanagar forces, south of the Krishṇā, quitted their posts along the opposite bank. On the third night, the Mussalmāns suddenly struck their camp and moved with such rapidity that during the next day they gained the deserted

BATTLE OF TĀLIKOTA-1565
Don
(First Camp)
Allied Camp
(Second)
TALIKOTA
Bhima
Krishna
Ghataprabha
TANGADGI
BAKASGI
INDVAL
RAICHUR
Malaprabha
Ally Adil
5 4 3 2 1
Erra Thimma Raya
Hussein Nizam
5 4 3 2 1
Hukkery
Ilkal
Rama Raya
5 4 3 2 1
Ibrahim Kutab and
Ally Bareed
Venkatadri
Disposition of forces
Allies
Vijayanagara
Archers 1
Artilery 2
Cavalry 3
Infantry 4
Elephants 5
2 Artillery
3 Cavalry
4 Infantry
5 Elephants
Initial direction of attack
Tungabhadra
Hagari
VIJAYANAGARA
NAGALAPURA
(HOSPET)
0 10 20 30 Kilometres
0 10 20 30 Miles

ford where they crossed the river without opposition. The next morning they dashed forward 12 miles and encamped on the Hoodery river[8]. At this, though surprised, Rāma Rāya was by no means dismayed. It must be about this time that the Mussalmān kings, finding themselves unable to cope with the mighty army under Rāma Rāya, made overtures to him for peace, promising the restitution of the districts they had taken on the march[9]. To this, Rāma sending only a flat refusal, pressed forward with 70,000 cavalry and 900,000 infantry[10] to give them battle.

*The Battle of 'Tālikota': 1565 A.D.**

On the morning of 2nd January 1565, both armies drew up their full strength and got ready for action[11]. The Hindu army is said to have numbered over 100,000[12] horse and 900,000 infantry, besides a large number of elephants. These, Rāma arranged in battle order placing 200,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry and 500 elephants under his brother Venkatādri to oppose the forces of Ally Adil Shāh on the left. His other brother, Erra Timmarāja, was placed in charge of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry and 500 elephants to oppose Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh and Ally Bareed on the right. While with 15,000 auxiliaries, 1,000 elephants and 500,000 infantry, he himself led the centre of attack against Hussain Nizām Shāh, directing his soldiers to take Ibrahim Kutub Shāh and Ally Adil Shāh prisoners so that he might keep them in iron cages during the rest of their lives, and instructing his own column to bring him, if possible, the head of the king of Ahmadnagar[13]. Of the elephants 2,000 and of cannon 1,000 pieces were placed at different intervals along the front.

The Mussalmāns are said to have opposed his with 50,000[14] horse and 300,000 foot. The front of the king of Ahmadnagar was covered by 600 pieces of ordinance of different calibres. They were placed in 3 lines of 200 each. In the first line were the heavy guns, in the second were the smaller and the third line was composed of swivels. The whole of this was commanded by Bhubely Roomi Khān, an officer of distinction from Asia minor,

* Compare S. S. Kambargimath: 'A Story of the Battle of Tālikota' (*QJMS* LX, 1969, pp. 47-55); Sātyanātha Aiyar: 'The Climatric of Tālikota' (*JIH*, 1927, April) K. Basu: 'The Battle of Tālikota—Before and After' (*Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Volume*). For an account based on Muslim sources, see Mirza Ibrahim Zubuiri's *Busutin-us-Salatin*, summarised in K. Basu, *op. cit*. (Ed.)

who had served in Europe. In order to mark his disposition, he placed 2,000 foreign archers in front of this division.

About noon Rāma Rāya mounted his seat[15] in spite of the remonstrances of his officers who wished him to be on horseback, as much safer. But he said there was no occasion for taking precaution against children who would certainly flee at the first charge. Both armies moved and soon clashed in battle, the Hindus beginning the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery. This did not discourage the Mussalmān allies. On the other hand, the archers of Roomi Khān kept up a heavy discharge on the Hindus as they approached, but fell back as the latter advanced, and when close to the heavy battery, fire was opened upon them with such effect, that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss.

Rāma Rāya, experiencing a very different reception to what he had expected, descended from his seat and seating himself on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet[16], embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, caused his treasurer to place heaps of money around him, that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited distinction. Rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose. Inspired by the generosity of Rāma Rāya, the Hindus charged the right and left of the allies with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder, and Ally Adil Shāh and Ibrahim Kutub Shah began to despair of victory and even to prepare for retreat[17]. Hussain Nizām Shāh, however, remained firm in the centre and pushed on so ardently, that the Hindus returning again to the charge, Roomi Khān, who had provided bags of copper money to load with, now ordered his guns to open fire when they were close to them. This proved so destructive that upwards of 5,000 Hindus were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns.

The repulse of this charge seems to have decided the fate of the day. The retreat of the Vijayanagar forces was taken advantage of by Kishwar Khān Lahiri, the Bijāpur officer, who charging through the intervals of the guns with 5,000 cavalry, pursued the retreating soldiers into the centre of Rāma Rāya's line. This threw Rāma Rāya's division into confusion, and the old king, at least 70 years of age[18], again mounted his seat. But he was soon

after abandoned by the bearers on the approach of a furious elephant belonging to Hussain Nizam Shāh which seized him in his trunk[19]. And before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a party of the allies took him prisoner and conducted him to Roomi Khan,. the commander of the artillery. This officer led him before Hussain Nizām Shāh who ordered[20] his head to the instantly struck off[21], and caused it to be placed on the point of a long spear, so that his death might thus be announced to the enemy. When the Vijayanagar forces saw their chief killed, they fled from the field in utmost disorder being pursued by the allies with such success that the river is reported to have been dyed red with their blood. About 100,000 Hindus[22] are said to have been slain during the action and in the pursuit. Venkatādri was killed and Tirumala escaped with the loss of an eye.

While the advance guard pursued the Hindus in their flight, the rest sat down for ten days[23] on the field of action collecting and distributing plunder. This is said to have been so great that every private in the Shāhi army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, horses, arms and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use. After despatching letters with accounts of this important victory to their respective kingdoms and to the neighbouring states, the Shāhi kings pressed forward.

*The Sack of Vijayanagar: 1565 A.D.**

Tirumala, on the other hand, made haste to Vijayanagar before the pursuers could overtake him. In 3 days, the vanguard of the allies managed to arrive at Ānegondi where it halted, perhaps, in expectation of fresh orders from the main army. If Tirumala only had a stout heart, who knows whether the city of victory would have failed to justify its title, who knows whether it could not have defied its enemies, this time also, as it did on many an occasion earlier. But Tirumala was a coward. He made no effort either to organise his forces or to put up a fresh resistance behind the walls of the capital. Instead, leaving the citizens to their fate, he gathered all the royal treasures he could

* *Vide:* A. R. Salter: 'The Ruins of Vijayanagar'. (*QJMS* II, pp. 49-55) (Ed.)

lay his hands upon and hurried to Penukonda[24] with the captive king, Sadāśiva, and with such of his relations as yet survived the catastrophe. The royal insignia and the celebrated jewel throne were all removed*. Of the gold, diamonds and other precious stones which he carried on this occasion, the total value is said to have amounted to 100,000,000 Sterling and that 550 elephants were loaded with them. Those of the citizens, who would manage to escape, followed his example, while the rest, burying whatever they had, stayed where they were, helplessly awaiting their doom. Hopeless anarchy followed Tirumala's departure, letting loose the worst elements of society, like the Lambārees and Binjāries, upon the terror-stricken population. Pouncing upon the ill-fated city, they 'looted the stores and shops and carried of whatever that remained'.

The arrival of the main Mussalmān army on the sixth day[25] sealed the fate of Vijayanagar and its citizens. The gathering gloom soon burst upon them in a storm by opening the flood gates of hate and lust. No quarter was given and no pity shown. Neither age nor position nor sex was excepted. Day after day the slaughter of civilians went on unchecked till blood ran into rivers. Then the victors turned to despoil the palaces and desecrate the pagodas. With hammer and hatchet, they went from place to place, knocking, breaking and smashing all works of art and all objects of worship. The house of victory, the pillars of Vithala temple, the limbs of Ugra Narasimha and the belly of the elephant god Ganesh—all suffered from their pitiless hands. Carvings and sculptures over which workmen had spent decades and kings their wealth were reduced to bits at the vandal's choice and at his pleasure. After thus satisfying their vengeance in every form and variety, they sat down to plunder the hidden treasures. In this greed for gold, no place was too private, nothing too sacred to them. Mansion and cottage suffered alike. Every nook was searched and every corner ransacked. Maddened by desire, they tore the roofs, demolished the walls and dug the foundations of every edifice, house or cottage where any thing of value was suspected. Thus, month in and month out, for six long months[26], they carried on their work of destruction, till they laid Vijayanagar,—the city of victory, the city of plenty and the

* Compare: Y. Srinivasa Murthy: 'Tirumala's Transfer of the Capital to Penukonda' (*JIH* XLIII (2) 1969, pp. 391-403) (Ed.)

city of prosperity,—in ruins, leaving no single stone upon the other[27]. The return for all this was not in the least disappointing. The plunder is said to have been immense, the Adil Shāh alone getting as his share two diamonds,— one as large as, and another, smaller than a hen's egg besides jewels of prodigious values.

The Loss of Territory: 1565 A.D.

While the main army of the allies was thus carrying on its work of pillage and plunder at Vijayanagar, detachments had been sent out to clear the Doab from the Hindu hands by seizing places of importance. One of these was led by Vithala Gowda[28], an officer of a thousand horse and 2,000 foot under the king of Bijāpur. His blow fell upon the Naik chiefs, who had been the guardians of the marches of Vijayanagar, between the Krishṇā and the Malaprabhā rivers. Cut off from any support from the headquarters and stricken with terror like the rest, one by one they submitted to the foreign yoke. The fort of Torgal, the subdivisions of Tardal and Yādwād, the villages of Sattigeri, Saundhatti, Gowrikoppa, Takkundi, Murgod, Asundi, Hooli and Mudkavi were all reduced with ease and brought under Bijāpur rule[29]. Another, a much bigger victor's division, operating under the united command of Mustaphā Khān, on behalf of Golkonda, Inayutoola Khān on behalf of Ahmadnagar, and Kishwar Khān, on behalf of Bijāpur, took by surrender the frontier forts of Mudgal and Rāichoor[30].

The Retreat of the Allies

If the allies had only cared to push forward their successes it would have been possible for them at this stage to subvert what remained of the central power and divide the Empire itself. But their mutual jealousy, caused particularly by the Adil Shāh's selfishness, came in the way of this catastrophe spreading to the south. Mustapha Khān, who had some understanding with Ally, delivered over the keys of Rāichoor and Mudgal to Kishwar Khān, the Bijāpur officer, without waiting for orders from the headquarters[31]. This so incensed Hussain Nizām Shāh that he wrote to Ibrāhim Kutub of this indiscretion of his subordinate, demanding him to put the offender to death. But unwilling to kill a person of the prophet's family and yet afraid of Hussain's

vengeance, Kutub dismissed Mustaphā Khān from his service and ordered him to leave for Mecca with his family and belongings. Instead of obeying him, he sought the protection of Ally Adil Shāh, by whom he was entertained and raised to a high position.

Disputes such as this, created over the division of plunder and territory, disturbed the alliance sufficiently enough as to make all united action impossible any further. At this stage, Tirumala sent his entreaties for peace, offering to restore all the lands which his brother had taken from the allies in the previous war. This proposal was welcomed by the Shāhis as the only way out of a difficult situation. Thus after partitioning the Empire among Rāma Rāya's sons and nephews and binding themselves not to invade it again without their united consent, the Shāhi kings took leave of each other at Rāichoor and retired to their respective capitals.

The Adil Shāhi Invasion: 1566 A.D.[32]

No sooner their allies turned their back, than a dispute arose between Timma, son of Rāma Rāya[33], and Tirumala, the latter's brother, as to who should wield the supreme power. Ānegondi and the neighbourhood of the imperial city were in the possession of Timma, while Tirumala[34], who stayed at Penugonda, had charge of the captive king and his treasures. In this situation, Timma sought the help of the Adil Shāh[35], who, not unwilling to benefit by his interference, at once marched on Ānegondi. This was clearly against the agreement which the Shāhi kings had entered into only a short time ago. Tirumala, on the other hand, applied for aid to the king of Ahmadnagar[36], the hereditary enemy of Bijāpur. As Hussain had died shortly after his return from Tālikota, leaving a successor of only 12 years of age, his widow, Khoonza Humāyun Sultāna, was managing the affairs of Government at that time. At this appeal, she at once marched with her young son Moortuza on Bijāpur[37]. The result was that the Adil Shah had no alternative but to fall back from Ānegondi to defend his threatened capital[38]. Frequent skirmishes kept both the Shāhi forces busy for some time till peace was concluded between them.

Tirumala Consolidates his Power: 1566-69 A.D.

A variety of causes kept both the Kutub Shāh and the Adil Shāh busy for the next three years giving Tirumala an oppor-

tunity to consolidate his power. It will be recalled that in response to Rāma Rāya's invitation in 1563 A.D., the Rājās of the neighbourhood of Rājamahendri had attacked the Golkonda territory by seizing Ellore and other places. Although his officers had begun to gain the upper hand, Ibrāhim had been compelled to call off his forces from that quarter, as a result of the Great League of 1564 A.D. Now that his hands were free, soon after his return to Golkonda, he recommenced hostilities sending Ruffut Khān Lary with 10,000 horse against the rājas. In this campaign which lasted a little more than 2 years, the resources of Golkonda were fully employed in the reduction of the whole of the sea coast from Rājamahendri to Potanuru.

In the same way but for different reasons, the Adil Shāh was also engaged in wars with one or the other of his enemies. Attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of Ahmadnagar, he had brought on a combination of the forces of Ahmadnagar, Berār and Golkonda, which marched together towards the close of 1565 A.D. and laid siege to Bijāpur, and compelled Adil to desert his capital and retreat to Konkan[39]. Then entering into an alliance with Ahmadnagar at the instance of its dowager queen, he spent the year 1566 A.D. in an invasion of Berār[40] and Telangāna[41]. The next year he began a war with Ahmadnagar by invading its territories. This dragged on till 1569 A.D.[42] In the meantime, he led an expedition to Goa in 1568 A.D.[43] but came back after sustaining heavy losses[44]. Being thus mixed up with one affair after another, he had neither leisure nor means to turn towards the south. Thus cut off from his only supporter, the Adil Shāh, Timma, son of Rāma Rāya, lost all chances of asserting his rights and receded into obscurity. Tirumala, on the other hand, who was benefited by the non-interference of outsiders, soon gathered strength and became the undisputed dictator of the Empire.

The Murder of Sadāsiva: 1568? (1569 A.D.)

Not satisfied with being a king in fact, Tirumala took advantage of the circumstances of the day to become a king in form also. For this, the captive king, Sadāśiva, was the only obstacle in his way, and in the long interval of quarter of a century, he had grown from a child into an young man of 25. It must have become clear to Tirumala that he would soon assert his independence and would

no longer be content to be his puppet[45]. Tirumala was unwilling to permit this, and so the only alternative was getting rid of the nominal sovereign. Accordingly, Sadāśiva was murdered by Tirumala's son[46], without doubt at his instance. Thus was the last and only link in the chain of the great Tuluva kings snapped, making place for another dynasty.

NOTES

1. This is based upon the account of Caesar Frederick (Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 184), but inscriptions of Sadāsiva are found even as late as 1570 A.D. Sidlaghatta 88: *E.C.* Vol. X, page 233 at Burudagunte 1570 A.D.
2. History of Golkonda by the anonymous author in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 381.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Channapatna 186: *E.C.* Vol. IX, pages 212-216 at Malur.
5. This para is based largely upon Ferista's account in his Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 85-86.
6. Briggs, *Op. Cit.* p. 86.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 89 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, p. 229 in Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III in which A.H. 949 is given.
8. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* p. 88.
9. *Ibid.* p. 89 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* p. 229.
10. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* p. 230.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* p. 92.
13. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 92: Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* Here 'On the following year' coming after 1542 A.D. means 1543 A.D. only, and also the war beginning after Kuli Kutub's death in September 1543 A.D. (Anonymous author's version in Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, p. 37).
16. As this war began after Kuli Kutub's death in September 1543 A.D, some time must have elapsed for Ibrāhim Kutub's escape to Bidar. Kāsim's march in his support, Burhan's march to his relief Kāsim's retreat to Bijāpur, the preliminaries before the alliance, the movement of various armies and their battles with Bijāpur forces, Jamsheed's pursuit of Kāsim and arrival at Golkonda, Bijāpur's offer of terms and their acceptance by the allies. Although Ferista does not give any separate date for the close of this campaign, at least more than four months must have been spent, and we arrive at the middle of 1544 A.D. Another hint that this war was carried into the middle of 1544 A.D. is got from Ferista's Narrative of the Kutub Shāhi Dynasty, (Briggs. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III. p. 326) where, at Jamsheed's upbraiding, Burhan for making a separate peace with Bijāpur, the later replies 'that after the rains he would act in concert in attacking the Adil Shāhi territory'. As the rains commence in the Deccan about June-July, it is clear that this war of 1543 A.D. must have

been continued till about the middle of 1544 A.D. We learn from the History of Golkonda, (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 337) that Kuli Kutub died cn Jummad-oos Sani A.H. 950, equated by Briggs with 4th September 1543 A.D. In his Kutub Shāhi Narrative, Ferista also mentions A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) as the year of Kuli Kutub's death. (Briggs, *Op. Cit.* p. 324). As Ferista says that 'in the following year' (Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230) i.e., after the 1542 A.D. Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar (*Ibid*, Ip. 229) Burhan Nizām Shāh deputed Shāh Tahir as ambassador to the court of Jamsheed Kutub Shāh, congratulating on his accession to the throne, and making private overtures to induce him to form a league with Rāma Rāya, 'the Hindu prince of Beejanagar', against his state of Bijāpur (*Ibid.*, p. 230). Except this passing reference Ferista mentions no other detail of this war in his Nizām Shāhi Narrative, but on page 92 of his Adil Shāhi Narrative he gives A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) for Ibrāhim Adil's marriage with the daughter of Allaudın Imadshāh. He says that Burhan 'shortly after' (*Ibid.*, p. 92) i.e., Adil's marriage formed secret alliances with Rāma Rāya and Jamsheed against Bijāpur (*Ibid.*, p. 93), it is thus clear that this war began in 1543 A.D. and after Jamseheed's accession in September. The History of Golkonda gives no date for this war, but places it at the beginning of Jamsheed's reign (Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, p. 382) and as such offers an additional proof.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
19. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 382.
20. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 93 and Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 325. Etgeer is no doubt Yādagiri.
21. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.
22. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 382.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.* p. 383.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Kutub Shāhı Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 326.
27. Adıl Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.
28. That Vijayanagar got no territorial additions in this war is clear by Ferista's own statement (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 9a) where the Vijayanagar forces are noticed as besieging Rāichoor again.
29. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 89 and Nizam Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 229.
30. Ferista's account in the Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 93 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230.
31. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 83.
32. Taking an agreement under 1544 A.D. as correct, allowing about 2 or 3 months for the rains and then a siege of 3 months for the recovery of Kakney by Assud Khān (see page 94 Ferista, *Op. Cit.*,), this campaign would roughly cover the second half of 1544 A.D.
33. Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 326; Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 94.
34. *Ibid.*, but the History of Golkonda refers this to Kuli Kutub. Briggs, III, *Op. Cit.*, p. 377.

35. Ferista does neither notice nor give any date to this renewal of Bareed—Kutub conflict. But the History of Golkonda, (*Op. Cit.*, p. 383) states that 'Kasim Bareed Shāh, on finding that Jamsheed Kutub Shāh had abandoned the confederacy and gone to his capital, marched with a force of 8,000 besides a large body of infantry to attack him'; and so the inference is that his attack should have coincided with that of Assud who also marched soon after the peace with Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar.

36. This place, if the pronunciation is correct, remains yet to be identified; it may be Lachyan.

37. Briggs, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, pages 94 and 213.

38. This date is mentioned only in Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.* p. 231, but the Adil Shāhi Narrative (*Op. Cit.*, p. 94) refers to the event as having happened 'some time after' the 1544 A.D., expedition against Golkonda by Assud Khān.

39. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

40. The details of the early stages of the Kutub Shāhi and Bareed Shāhi conflict during this war are given only in the History of Golkonda, (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 384-386) and Ferista does not notice it at all. But the former gives no date for the details. It only states that Jamsheed, after his return from his short campaign against Bareed (during the 1543-1544 A.D. war), 'spent some time in raising money and in collecting troops from all quarters' when he again marched towards Bidar. As his short campaign against Bidar was in 1544 A.D., it was really a supplementary war after the peace of Bijāpur with Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 94 and 383) taking place some time after, perhaps in 1545, 1546 or 1547 A.D. One hint suggests that it was in 1547 A.D. and, that is, Ferista's statement that Burhan joined Jamsheed's cause against Bidar in this war, marching against Bareed 'in the following year' (Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 233), After A.H. 953 i.e., 1546 A.D. and also after a long campaign, Burhan was met by conspirators from Bijāpur who had gone to seek his support for prince Abdullā's rebellion. This was in 1548 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 232) and so this war must have happened in 1547-1548 A.D.

41. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 384.

42. The above history (*Ibid*) always calls the Bareed Shāh king at this period while Ferista (Briggs *Op. Cit.*, p. 231) refers to him as Ally.

43. This place is about 30 miles to the north of Bidar.

44. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 385.

45. *Ibid.*

46. See footnote 42 above.

47. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 231.

48. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 385.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 232, Nizām Shāhi Narrative, 231.

50. 4 miles according to Ferista, Briggs. *Op. Cit.*, p. 232.

51. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 386.

52. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 232 and 384.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

55. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 385.

56. *Rāmarājiyamu*, in Aiyangar *Sources*, extract No. 68, p. 222.

57. The inscriptions of the Belur chiefs claim the titles of *Bareed Saptānga-harana* and *Turukadala Vibheda*, and Yera Krishṇappa Nāika claims in some inscriptions to have got his Naikship from Krishṇa Deva Rāya. Nizām Shāhi Narrative also notices him. But as the inscriptions of his son Venkatadri Nāyaka are between 1566 and 1583 A.D. *Mysore Archaeological* (*Report* for 1929, p. 69 in Belur), his father's victories over Bārid could not be much earlier and must be under a Venkatādri's command in this war only. This explains why Sewell notices him under Krishna Rāya.

58. Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 464.

59. The Portuguese call him Mesle Khān.

60. Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 465.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*, p. 477.

63. This date is approximate as Ferista places this rebellion just before Assud Khān's death which he dates A.H. 956 i.e., January 1549 A.D. (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 100). The Portuguese, however, place this in 1545 A.D. (Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, p. 465.)

64. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.

65. Ferista pleads for the innocence of Assud (*Ibid.*, p. 99). but the Portuguese accounts are clear on this point (Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, p. 464). The dates, however, differ by 3 years, Ferista's being 1548 A.D. and Danvers' 1545 A.D.

66. Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, p. 465.

67. See Owsa—Odgir Campaign. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 232.

68. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

71. The Portuguese accounts always call him Meale Khān, and not Abdulla as it is according to Ferista.

72. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, p. 465; see note 65 above.

75. According to Fr. Ferroli it was while Xavier was working in Goa that Miguel Vaz—(the Vicar-General who had authorised the baptism of the Barathars in 1536 A.D.)—who happened to be there, having observed the zeal, humility and heroic self-sacrifice of Zavier thought that he was the man to carry on the work hardly began among the Paravars. So he invited him to go to the fishery coast.

76. There he remained for a year, after which he left for Japan. From Japan he returned to Goa in February 1552. After this in April 25, 1552 he set sail for China visiting on the way Malacca and Singāpur and then Sancian, a part of an island near the mouth of the river Canton. Here seized with a fever he died on the 3rd of December 1552, at the age of only 46. A year later his body was brought back to Goa where, being preserved, it is exposed once in every few years.

77. The details of this whole transaction are based upon the History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 386. No date is given but we have to infer it as 1548

A.D. both by the context and because it is said to have happened after the 1548 A.D. war; and as a result of this understanding Burhan took Khandhar only and Adıl Shāh made great additions from Vijayanagar (*Ibid.*, p. 387). At the same time alarmed at these additions to Adil, Burhan, without further warning attacked Sholāpur belonging to Adil. But as Sholāpur was besieged by Burhan towards the close of 1549 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 235) as Jamsheed, who was also a party in this war, died shortly after in 1550 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 389), and also as Bareed, who was taken prisoner by Adil during this time, was released by Jamsheed just during the Sholāpur siege, the event and treaty must have happened in 1549 A.D. only.

78. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 386.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

80. *Ibid.*, According to Ferista, thıs had been taken in the previous campaign (Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232).

81. History of Golkondə, *Op. Cıt.*, p. 387. By this it is clear that there was some war between Bijāpur and Vijayanagar in 1548 A.D. in which Vijayanagar lost heavily in the beginning at least, but very few details are known.

82. Ferista gives no separate date for this campaign. But as he says it happened after Assud's death which was in January 1549 A.D., (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 100) 'the following year', perhaps the next Mussalmān year, means A.H. 957-1549 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 235). So this must have happened early in 1549 A.D.

83. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 102 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 233.

84. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 103 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 234.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

86. According to the Adil Shāhi Narrative (*Op. Cit.*, p. 104) it will be 1551 A.D. But this will not fit, as Jamsheed's death is said to have happened in 1550 (History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 389).

87. Ferista's statement 'in the following year' coming after his date 1548 A.D. (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232), in addition to 1549 A.D., given to this conference (*Ibid.*, p. 235) fixes the alliance in 1549 A.D. The actual campaign must have begun in 1550 A.D.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

89. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

91. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 387.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, p. 388 calls him Kāsim while Ferista calls him Ally.

94. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 235.

95. *Ibid.*

96. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

100. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 235.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 236; also the Hindu account in *Ramarajiyamu*, p. 202.

2. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

3. Ferista mentions no separate date for this, but it followed closely the death of Burhan in 1553 A.D. (*Op. Cit.*, p. 235). This incident also must have happened in the same year.

4. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

6. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 238.

7. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 107.

8. Ferista gives no separate date for this. But as it happened shortly after Adil Shāhi's defeat at Hussain's hands and as Hussain's accession was in 1553 A.D. (*Op. Cit.*, p. 235), this incident also must have happened in the same year.

9. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

10. Another account from the Portuguese sources says 700,000 Pardos (See No. 40 Packet 97. Part I of *Corpochronologic* quoted in Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 191 footnote 1.

11. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

13. Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 505 and 508.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

20. This is only an inference based upon the complete overthrow of the Portuguese which the Hindu accounts, without mentioning Rāma's alliance with Bijapur, claim for Vijayanagar forces.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Danvers: *Op. Cit.*, p. 509.

23. The details of this war are given only in the History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 396-397. But no date is given there for it. It has to be inferred from the circumstances of the story and the names of the three persons, Ibrahim Adil, Hussain Nizām and Ibrāhim Kutub who figure in it. For Ibrahim Adil to take part in it (*Ibid.*, p. 397), it must have been before his death in 1557 A.D. and for Hussain to come into it must be after 1553 A.D. As matters were very disquieting towards the close of Ibrāhim Adil's reign, owing to his son Ally's attempts to free himself and seize the throne, it is but natural that Hussain should have taken advantage of the internal conditions of Bijāpur to make war on her. If such were the case, the date for the 1st Nizām Shāhi war would be 1556 A.D. As Ibrāhim Adil 'on his return from his campaign' is said to have died in Bijāpur (*Ibid.*, p. 402), it is clear that the first Nizām Shāhi war took place in the year of Ibrāhim's death i.e., 1557 A.D., if he died towards the close, or in 1556 A.D., if he died towards its beginning.

24. The details of this war are given only in the History of Golkonda *Op. Cit.*, pp. 395-7.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
31. This incident is noticed only in *Ibid.*, p. 397 but no date is given. As this is said to have followed closely after the first Nizām Shāhi war, the date for this also must be 1556 A.D.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.* Here Timarāj perhaps means Tirumala; and but we do not know who is meant by Govinda Rāj.
34. *Ibid.*, 398.
35. Ferista gives no particular date for these transactions, but as he says that this took place in the first year of Ally Adil Shāh's reign (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 170), it must be in 1557 A.D. as Ibrāhim Adil died in that year.
36. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 180. The History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 402 also notices the details of Ally's venture but only calls it 'a small bodyguard'.
37. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 239.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 330.
40. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 120.
41. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 239.
42. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 119 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative *Op. Cit.*, p. 239.
43. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 119.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 120 and History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 402.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
46. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 239.
47. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 406.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
49. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 120.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 240. But the History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*; says that he retired to Daulatābād only.
52. This reference is from Hindu sources, but there is nothing in them to attribute the incident to this campaign only. I presume it to refer to this as Hussain, by flying to Python which was only during this campaign, had to cross the Godāvari, but for which there was no necessity when he fled to Junnar during the next war when his kingdom was again invaded by the allies.
53. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 240; Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 330 and History of Golkondā, *Op. Cit.*, p. 403.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
56. *Ibid.* But according to Ferista, he was discovered by Rāma Rāya in the course of his double dealings with Hussain and his own allies, and when questioned, he suddenly decamped. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 240.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

59. *Ibid.*

60. This is the date according to Ferista, Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 242. This will nearly agree with the date in the History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, (p. 406), which, though not actually stated, is hinted at by the statement that the marriage was arranged 'in the following year' after the close of the late war in 1559 A.D. We may, therefore, take the war to have begun in 1561 A.D. and to have ended in 1562 A.D. Ferista's date, 1564 A.D., as given in his Kutub Shāhi Narrative *Op. Cit.*, p. 330 is evidently a slip.

61. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 406. But according to Ferista it was Ibrāhim Kutub who took the initiative. (Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 330).

62. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 406. Although no date is mentioned, the Second Nizām Shāhi war being over in 1559 A.D. this event would be 1560 A.D. or 1561 A.D.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 406; Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 351 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative *Op. Cit.*, p. 242.

64. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 120. But according to the History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 406 the Adil Shāh went in person himself.

65. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 120. But the same author calls him, in his Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, Ameer Bareed which is evidently wrong (p. 331).

66. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 407 (65) Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 120.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 406. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 121.

69. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 243.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 407.

71. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244.

72. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 121 and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 122.

75. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, p. 245. The place remains to the identified.

79. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 245.

80. *Ibid.*, But on p. 121 of his Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, Ferista says that Ally Adil Shāh offended by the sacrilegious conduct of the Hindus and suspecting the obstinacy of the besiegers persuaded Rāma Rāya to raise the siege and march against Sholāpur. His statement anyhow that Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh 'maintained a secret correspondence with the besieged to whom he privately sent in grain' is clearly wrong as the Kutub Shāh was at home and never took many part in the campaign against Ahmadnagar.

81. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 122.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 245. This place is a railway junction close to Sholāpur. Ferista calls it Ootgy (*Ibid.*).

84. *Ibid.*

85. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

87. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 246.

88. Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

89. It is only the History of Golkondā that details the incidents of this campaign, Ferista not even noticing it except very slightly (Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 331.)

90. Ferista calls this 'the town of Orgy on the Talingāna frontier' (*Ibid*).

91. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 408.

92. This is a mispronounciation of some Hindu name perhaps Jai Simrāj; but we know very little about this person.

93. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 408.

94. This place remains to be identified.

95. *Ibid.*, 408.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

98. Kutub Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 331.

99. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123. History of Golkonda *Op. Cit.*, p. 413, attributes it to the Kutub Shāh.

100. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 125.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 126. The Mudgal wooden gateway inscription dated 1564 A.D. notes a Timmanna Naika as holding the place at this time.

2. That all the three brothers went to battle is mentioned by '*Channabasavapurāṇa*, *sandhi* X, verse 70 and Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 127.

3. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

5. History of Golkonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 414.

6. The battle was fought between the villages of Rakkasagi and Tangadagi on the banks of the Krishnā in the present district of Bijāpur. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, *āsvāsa* IV, para 8.

7. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 127.

8. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 246.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Although better known as the battle of Tālikota, the battle was not actually fought at or close to this town, which is in Muddibihāl taluk of Bijāpur district. Further, as the enemy is said to have crossed the river Krishṇā, it is clearly not Tālikota which is to the north of it. As Rāma Rāya is said to have pitched his camp on the field to the south of what Ferista calls Hukerry river, which can be no other than what at some places is called Ilkal river, a tributary stream joining the Krishṇā at this place. *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair* published by T. T. Sharma in 1922 (Mysore, G.T.A. Press) says that the battle was fought at Rākshasa-Tangadi (p. 14, *Ibid*). *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*, *āsvāsa* IV, para 8

gives it as Rakkasa-Tangadi. The fact is that, even to-day, there are two villages on the river Krishṇā known as Rakkasagi and Tangadagi, the latter being on the usual route from Tālikota southwards. It is only at these places that there are two fords fit enough for big armies to cross, as, at the other, the banks are high and the ground boggy. So, we have to take that the Shāhi army tried at first to cross the Krishṇā at Tangadagi ford but as it was disputed from the opposite bank by the Vijayanagar army, it made a false move towards the Rakkasagi ford, and turned back suddenly to the same and crossed it easily as it was undefended at the time. Thus, the battlefield will have to be located on the opposite side of the Krishṇā and on the south bank of the Ilkal river, possibly close to where the latter joins the former.

As for the date of the battle, Ferista gives it as Friday the 20th of Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 972 (See Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 414). Sewell calculates this as corresponding to Tuesday, January 23, 1565 A.D. (see his *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 202). According to *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair*, it was fought in *Śhālivāhana Śaka* 1486, *Raktākshi Vaiśākha* 8 Monday, *Śrāvanā Nakshatra* (see *Bakhair Op. Cit.*, introduction, p. v). This corresponds to 1564, May 1, Monday and agrees with Ferista's date, except for 1 day's difference. On the other hand, *Keladi Nripa Vijaya, āsvāsa* IV, para 8 gives it as *Śālivāhana Śaka* 1467. *Raktākshi, Māgha, Bahula* which will be about February 1565. This seems to agree with the version of Sewell.

12. Anonymous author in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 414.
13. Ferista's Nizām Shāhi Narrative in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 247.
14. Danvers: *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 533.
15. Ferista's Adil Shāhi Narrative in Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 128.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.* Another account makes him 90 years old. De Cuto says that he was 96 years.
19. Ferista's Nizām Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 249.
20. *Ibid.*, and Ferista's Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 130.
21. *Chenna Basava Purāṇa* suggests that all the three brothers were killed in battle. See *sandhi* X, verse 70. According to *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair, Op. Cit.*, (p. 21) it was the Adil Shāh that blew out the brains of Rāma Rāyā with a cannon shot. It is said that this was done at request of Rāma Rāya who had been taken prisoner. *Keladi Nripa Vijaya, āsvāsa* IV, p. 67, para 8, says that it was at the suggestion of Adil Shāh that the Shāhi League was formed and that Rāma Rāya was deceived by the false security given out by the Adil Shāh. It also says that the enemy cut off Rāma Rāya's head in battle. Caesar Frederick says that Rāma Rāya lost the battle of Tālikota by the treachery of two Mussalmān generals in his service but gives no name. In his Golkonda history (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 381) the anonymous author notices that a certain Mallik Ein-ool-Mulk Geelany, having offended Ibrahim Adil Shāh, left his service and entered that of Rāma Rāya with a force consisting of 4000 horse, and that Ein-ool-Mulk had on many occasions so distinguished himself by his bravery that the Rāya used to call him brother. The story of a street brawl between this

man's followers and those of prince Ibrāhim of Golkonda, who was then a refugee in the Vijayanagar court, is also noticed in the same connection. The author gives no date for this, but it may be any time between Ibrāhim's flight from his country in about 1544 A.D. and his return to Golkonda as king on July 27, 1550 A.D. (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 394). There is little doubt that Ein-ool-Mulk continued in Rāma Rāya's service even after 1550 A.D. till the Tālikota battle. To be trusted as a commander one must be without doubt of sufficient importance. Ein-ool-Mulk and another, Dilwār Khān Odeyar, are the only two noticed in inscriptions. If there were any other Mussalmān generals of equal or greater importance in Rāma Rāya's service, there would have been some mention of them somewhere. We have got to conclude, therefore, that in all probability Ein-ool-Mulk was one of the two who proved treacherous to Rāma Rāya during the battle of Tālikota.

In his Adil Shāhi Narrative (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 92) Ferista says that one Ein-ool-Mulk Geelany was an officer of distinction at first under Ameer Bareed; and in the war of 1542 A.D. between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar and Bidar, he was prevailed upon by Asud Khān to quit the service of Ameer Bareed and go over to Ibrāhim Adil Shāh. Ibrāhim Adil in return conferred on him the estates of Yoosuf (*Ibid.*, p. 91) lately given to him near Belgaum (*Ibid.*, p. 88).

Ein-ool-Mulk was after all a title among Mussalmāns and not a proper name. For example, one Ein-ool-Mulk, Governor of Oudh, under Mohamad-bin-Tughluk rebelled in about 1340 A.D. and another Ein-ool-Mulk rebelled against Adil Shāh in C. 1553 A.D. Beaten in battle, he fled to Nizām Shāh's protection but was assassinated by his treachery. So the above Ein-ool-Mulk should be different. There was another Ein-ool-Mulk, an officer under Bahamani kings, in 1502 A.D.

22. Adil Shāh Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 130.

23. Anonymous author of the History of Golkonda, *Ibid.*, p. 414.

24. See *Chikka Deva Rāya Vamśāvali*, and *Chikka Deva Rāya Vijaya.* Ferista does not name the place but says that he escaped from the battle to a 'distant fortress' (Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 131), and by mistake he calls the survivor Venkatādri (*Ibid.*).

25. It will be 10 days according to the anonymous author of the History of Golkonda, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 414.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

27. But according to Caesar Frederick, even after its sack, Vijayanagar was 24 miles in circuit, the houses were still standing, when he passed it in (?) 1569 A.D., but in parts of the city there were nothing but tigers and other wild beasts.

28. See p. 372 of *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI (Belgaum) which borrows material from Stokes' *Belgaum*, p. 36.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Anonymous author of the History of Golkonda, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 414.

31. *Ibid.*

32. From *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1901, No. 341, we learn that Channappa Nāyudu was a military officer of Vijayanagar. While Tirumala had occupied the town of Penukonda Pattana and was ruling it, Channappa in *Pousha* (November-December) of *Kshaya* (1566-7 A.D.) defeated the Mohamedan general Rambikisaru Khan who had marched on Penukonda. (*Archaeological Survey of India*, 1911-12). There is little doubt that this refers to the Adil Shāhi invasion whose correct date should be 1567 A.D.

About a year after the battle of Tālikota, which was in 1566 A.D., Tirumal returned to Vijayanagar and tried to restore it, but finding it hopeless he retired to Penukonda. It was two years after the battle (i.e., 1567 A.D.) that Tirumala changed the capital to Penukonda (*QJMS*, 1923, April, p. 625.)

33. Mulbāgal 60: dated in 1645 says that this Rāma Rāya had five sons. Of these five the most famous was Sri Ranga Rāya, who having done penance, the Lord of Seshagiri (Tirumalai) blessed him with 'two handsome sons, by name Pedda Venkata and Pina-Venkata.'

34. Ferista by mistake calls him Venkatādri, (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp 131 and 251).

35. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

37. *Ibid.*, and Nizām Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 251,

38. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 251 and Adil Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, p. 132.

39. Anonymous author, Briggs *Op. Cit.*, p. 417. *Chikka Deva Rāya Vamsāvali* states that Tirumala appointed his son Sriranga in charge of Penukonda, Rāma Rāya in charge of Srirangapatna and Venkatapati in charge of Chandragiri. But it does not mention any date for this. According to Floria's account, Venkata II died in October 1614 A.D. 'after a reign of 50 years'. This '50 years', has, to be interpreted as including Venkata's period of governorship at Chandragiri as it takes us back to 1614-15=1564-65 A.D. If Venkata was sent as a governor by his father, his elder brothers also would have been sent out at the same time.

Another piece of information from native sources recorded in Brown's *Local Records* also states that, after the battle of Tālikota, a prince of the Vijayanagar family drove out the Moslems across the Krishṇā and recovered much territory towards the north-east.

Venkata of Chandragiri figures as Sadāśiva's subordinate in 1567-68 A.D. (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 240 of 1897 and 163 of 1905).

40. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 251 and Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

41. Anonymous author, Briggs, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 418.

42. Nizām Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252.

43. Adil Shāhi Narrative, *Op. Cit.*, p. 134.

44. Eleventh Adil Shāhi War 1568, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

After Ally Adil Shāh's march on Goa for which, in the body of the Narrative, Ferista gives no date but says 'in the following year', but Briggs gives in the margin 976 A.H., 1568 A.D., that is, after Adil Shāh's campaign against Ahmadnagar for which 975 A.H. is given in the body of the Narrative (Briggs, *Op. Cit.*,

p. 132). Thus after narrating Adil Shāh's march on Goa and his unsuccessful retreat in 1568 A.D., Ferista says: 'He next moved against the fortress of Adony'. According to *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1901, No. 341, Channappa Nāyudu, claims to have beaten back in *Vaishākha* (March-April) of *Vibhava* (1568-9 A.D.) Vambinamali-Khān and other Muhammadan generals (Sardārs) who had attacked Penukonda. There is little doubt that Ferista's Adoni account refers to the same campaign as that against Penukonda, which latter is avoided by Ferista.

In Rāmarājabhushana's *Vasucharitramu, āsvāsa* I, verse 58, it is said that Tirumala smashed, on the hill of Penukonda the forces of the Khāns sent by the lord of the *Yavanas*. It is possible that this refers to the same Adil Shāhi attack on Penukonda as above.

45. Ceasar Frederick in *Hakluyt's Voyages* II, pp. 348-9. Also Sadāśiva's existence gave some claim or other for other chiefs, like Rāmarāja-Tirumala to aspire for the regency setting aside this Tirumala. Tirumala is said to have coveted the wealth of Sadāśiva.

46. See Ceaser Frederick's account, *Op. Cit.*, but *Chikka Deva Rāya Vamsāvali* says Tirumala did it.

INDEX

[*Note :* In view of the detailed contents, the index is indicative and not exhaustive].

S

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
7	33	Massacreing	Massacring
14	33	beseiged	besieged
15	5	Hashan	Hasan
16	31	69	69 and
18	2	Vidyāranya and Sripāda	Vidyāranya Sripāda
30	16	seige	siege
31	16	,,	,,
33	2	Mādhva	Mādhava
38	2	C. 1376	C. 1377
40	19	Harihar	Harihara
41	1	,,	,,
42	12	Rāmachandrapuat	Rāmachandrapura
58	12	Rāmānuja	Rāmānujia
65	20	the IV	the XIV
80	1	C. 1841	C. 1481
83	6	the 15th	the XIV
88	37	a timely a	a timely
90	41	Narasinga	Narasinga's
113	11	Kalyān	Kalyāni
128	14	423rd June	23rd June
130	14	leaing	leaving
133	38	Dharmaastras	Dharmasāstras
183	43	be the Gale	be Gale
197	5	of Barathars	or Baratharas
204	36	Tilangāna	Telingāna
204	37	Sharwain	Sherwani

Frontispiece : Sanikal — Sasivekal